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Swarthmore Lecture
1913.

“ I count him wise
Who loves so well man's noble memories,
He needs must love man's nobler hopes yet more.”

WATSON.

Swarthmore Lecture

SOCIAL SERVICE

Its Place in the Society of Friends

BY

JOSHUA ROWNTREE

PUBLISHED FOR THE WOODBROOKE EXTENSION COMMITTEE

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Preface.

The Swarthmore Lectureship was established by the Woodbrooke Extension Committee, at a meeting held December 9th, 1907 : the minute of the Committee providing for " an annual lecture on some subject relating to the Message and Work of the Society of Friends." The name " Swarthmore " was chosen in memory of the home of Margaret Fox, which was always open to the earnest seeker after Truth, and from which loving words of sympathy and substantial material help were sent to fellow-workers.

The Lectureship has a two-fold purpose : first, to interpret further to the members of the Society of Friends their Message and Mission ; and secondly, to bring before the public the spirit, the aims and the fundamental principles, of the Friends.

Preface.

The previous lectures of the series have been as follows :—

1908 : “ Quakerism a Religion of Life,” by
Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt., of
Haverford College, Pa.

1909 : “ Spiritual Guidance in the Experience
of the Society of Friends,” by
William Charles Braithwaite, B.A.,
LL.B.

1910 : “ The Communion of Life,” by Joan
Mary Fry.

1911 : “ Human Progress and the Inward
Light,” by Thomas Hodgkin, D.C.L.

1912 : “ The Nature and Purpose of a
Christian Society,” by T. R. Glover,
M.A.

The above lectures have been delivered on the evening preceding the assembly of the Friends' Yearly Meeting in each year.

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Social Service : its Place in the Society of Friends

WE all know the value of seeing a landscape, familiar perhaps from childhood, made new to the eye by some unlooked for light and shade. It is not only that the colours vary as by magic, but the apparent heights of the hills are raised or lowered, and their very forms undergo a change ; whilst some features heretofore seldom noticed stand out in startling prominence. Something similar happens to our mental pictures of the facts of life in the past, as the growth of knowledge intuitive or acquired leads us to re-adjustments of our estimates, and new values of their worth.

This has happened recently to the Society of Friends, by reason of the studiously careful and judicial histories now at the disposal of the general reader.¹ They are not all completed,

¹ *Studies in Mystical Religion*, by Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt. *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, by Rufus M. Jones, M.A. *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, by William C. Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B. *Journal of George Fox*, edited from the original MSS., with notes, by Norman Penney, F.S.A.

and it would be presumptuous to attempt to base any final conclusions upon them ; but in different ways, and from various sources we know enough to justify a provisional study of one aspect of Quakerism of interest and importance at the present day.

The desire to ameliorate the outlook and the conditions of the great mass of the toilers under the strain of modern civilization is surely one of the most encouraging signs of our times.

Multitudes of men ask, where is Christianity to be seen ? Missionaries in the awakening East tell us that Orientals are repelled by the overshadowing of western ecclesiastical institutions. In many Churches at home it is keenly felt that the redemption and reconciliation of the world according to the fulness of the Christian revelation include its social as well as spiritual regeneration, and that the two are not to be dissociated.

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Society of Friends grew up in the conviction that Christianity is a life, and not a system. They spoke strongly against much that they saw around them : but they sought honestly to be doers of the word, and so became leaders in many kinds of social service. Now that this aspect of life is

obtaining so much attention a study of the causes leading to such results can hardly be out of place. It may be useful as bringing into clearer light the central force which impelled them, and which, if they were right, must yet prove the most potent factor for any similar advance in the future.

The whole subject of the mainspring of serious social uplifting would need volumes to do it justice. Even a study confined to its development in one small and fairly compact society must needs be imperfect; but it will not altogether fail in its purpose if it incites others to more thought and fuller treatment. That this restricted investigation is worthy of attention is evidenced by witnesses who have approached it from very different standpoints. In his chapter on the organization of social life,¹ Bishop Westcott writes, "The Society of Friends has achieved results wholly out of proportion to their numbers. No religious order can point to services rendered to humanity more unsullied by selfishness, or nobler in far-seeing wisdom."

Professor W. James, in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, writes, "The Quaker religion which

¹ *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 1887, p. 130.

he [Fox] founded is something which it is impossible to overpraise. In a day of shams, it was a religion of veracity rooted in spiritual inwardness, and a return to something more like the original gospel truth than men had ever known in England.” The Professor gives as his criterion of religious belief, “not its origin, but the way in which it works on the whole.” Baron von Hügel, in his great work on Catherine of Genoa, crowded as it is with a profound study of mysticism from a devout Roman Catholic standpoint, speaks of “the faculty of the Soul, by which we have a direct and immensely potent, an immediate experience of objective reality of the Infinite, and abiding of a Spirit not unlike but distinct from our own, which penetrates and works within these our finite spirits”; and he then adds, “The Society of Friends which, measured by the smallness of its numbers has given to the world an astonishingly large band of devoted lovers of human-kind, is a living witness to the possibility of such illuminism.”

Professor Paul Wernle in his introduction to the German edition of Fox's *Journal*, says, “There is no great work of humanity and mercy in which

¹ Seventh Impression, 1903, p. 7.

the Quakers have not had their share, and which finally is not rooted in that which Fox recognized as the power of the Seed of God."¹ Churches, it has been said too truly, are apt to appraise themselves at the level of their high ideals. The authors just quoted may be relied on to speak judicially of the level attained by Quakerism, often accounted one of the heterodox sects of Christendom. The generosity of their testimony should bring, not self-satisfaction,—but rather, grave searchings of heart—to the present generation of Friends.

Some further incentives to this study deserve a reference here. It is not needful for the average man to master either the mysteries of Science or the recondite philosophies of the age, in order to be conscious of the drift and tendency of thought in these departments of knowledge. We are all aware that Science is giving an ever increasing place to the unseen forces of the universe, is indeed now telling us that inert matter exists only as dependent upon them. Again, no negations, whether of naturalism or intellectualism, can now be said to hold the field against the belief in a spiritual energy that manifests

¹ *George Fox*, übersetzt von Marg. Stäbelin, 1908. For a translation of Professor Wernle's Introduction, see *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1909, p. 269.

itself in the world's life, either as seen in the pages of Professor James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*, or in the actual mending of "broken earthenware" in city slums by the Salvation Army. Even a casual reader of the text books of the day comes upon new expressions of thought which instinctively carry the mind back to the men and women of 250 years ago for their living verification.

We learn from Bergson that "the intellect alone is characterized by a natural inability to comprehend life," that "the creative force which brought the world into being is psychical not physical." "It is to the very inwardness of life that intuition—instinct that has become self-conscious, capable of reflecting upon its object and of enlarging it definitely—leads us." There is, therefore, "a Life beyond our lives, into relationship with which we may come." To any reader of the Quaker mystics there seems little that is new in this beyond the freshness and phrasing of the presentation.

Again, if Bergson points us to our forefathers' views of Truth, Eucken surely emphasizes them by such sentences as these: "Spiritual life is indeed an activity which is both God's and ours." "Its proof is practical, in the stream

of creative energy and insight that flows through the soul that is in the city of God.”¹

“ The whole question for him [man] is, which shall be central for him, the vital all-embracing life of the Spirit, or the lower one of self ? ”

“ Instead of being train-bearers of alien ages,” we must be “ creative and militant ourselves.” The new philosophy of life is “ the supremacy of the spiritual.” “ Christianity has in short created a new type of life ; poured a new strength and heroism into mankind ; initiated a new movement in the soul, giving a history and a value to the poorest and simplest.”²

Anyone at all familiar with the rise of the Society might suppose that these sentences (to be gathered almost by the handful from the reviews of the last two or three years) were taken from some erudite defence of Fox and his comrades in the seventeenth century.

One difficulty confronting us at the outset of such an enquiry is this : to the early Friends all life, religious and civil, domestic and ecclesiastical, was, as our newest philosophies would have it to be, one life. There were no lines of

¹ *Eucken and Bergson, their Significance for Christian Thought*, by E. Hermann, 1912, p. 64.

² *Ibid*, p. 94.

demarcation ; no divisions in their journal entries or indexes. So if our analytical minds want to classify and docket our ancestors' varied activities, they give us little help. Indeed, much of that which we now seek to bring into relief they passed over without observation, as a matter of course. To them social service followed automatically on spiritual awakening, as warmth follows from fire. A diversity of gifts was freely recognised, but all gifts, prophesyings, rulings, teachings, endurings, or servings, came, as they held, from one and the same Spirit, direct to all who responded to the call of the Supreme. A new and glad relationship with God by a conscious inflowing of personal life greater than their own meant to them of necessity a new relationship with all humanity. This was to be manifested by the radiations of that love whose "innermost motive is a unifying principle." Any separate classification of religious and secular thought and activity was therefore an impossibility to them, as it was indeed to all such inspired leaders as Francis of Assisi (persuading "brother wolf" to a better life) ; to Catharine of Siena (the housemaid exhorting the Pope that temporal things were failing him, from no other reason than from "your neglect of the

spiritual") ; to John Tauler (who taught that soup making for the sick might be as directly a religious act as prayer) ; and to our own John Wesley, who became the greatest social reformer of the eighteenth, as Fox was of the seventeenth century, without ever desiring to be more than a faithful preacher of the Gospel.

The ponderous volumes of our forefathers show us, how little they were disposed to dwell on the by-products of the central truths they proclaimed against all hindering things. The spiritual realities of the new life were everything to them. They had no compassion for degenerate descendants who long that their journals—those at least of acute observers—might have strayed more frequently beyond the precincts of the blessed meetings that were their power houses of strength, and so have brought minor matters to view in the conditions around them. Thomas Story, for instance, in 1738, sent to James Logan (founder of the Library at Philadelphia) from the Yorkshire coast, a forecast of the discovery of stratified geology one hundred years before its time¹—his ample diary makes no reference to anything so essentially

¹ See Armistead's *Memories of Logan*, 1851. The original letter is preserved in Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London.

arising therefrom, soon compelled mutual co-operation in the group-fellowships that formed almost spontaneously under his ministry. His idea as to the government of these groups may be seen in two sentences—"Keep your Meetings everywhere, that you may see the Lord among you, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world." "All faithful men and women in every country, city, and nation, whose faith stands in the power of God, who have received the Gospel and are in possession thereof, have all right to the power in these Meetings." These are wide foundations, however faultily they may have been circumscribed since. They are not unworthy of the teaching, so finely described by our last year's lecturer, T. R. Glover, in the passage in his "*Conflict of Religions*" (p. 13), where he says—"It was perhaps in part this experience of the friendship of simple and commonplace men that differentiates the teaching of Jesus from the best the world had yet had. No other teacher dreamed that common men could possess a tenth part of the moral grandeur and spiritual power which Jesus elicited from them—chiefly by believing in them. Here, to anyone who will study the period, the sheer originality of Jesus is bewildering. This belief

in men Jesus gave to His followers, and they have never lost it."

So long as the fellowship of inward liberty was also one of outward suffering, the place given by Friends' meetings to individual apprehensions of duty was extraordinarily high. They seem at the outset to have received such intimations mainly to register them, and to assist the individual as far as they could, rather than to sit in judgment upon him. Afterwards, when persecution was exchanged for the "woe" that comes when all men begin to speak well of you, it became more needful to relate the individual with the general sense of duty of the fellowship of which he formed a unit; but records show that weight of character, not any hierarchical distinctions, was recognised as the determining factor.

The liberation of women justified itself in much brave and valuable service at home and abroad. The latter may be seen in Mary Fisher's visit to Mahomet IV. at Adrianople. He received her like a high-minded Monarch, listened to her intently, said that every word she had spoken was true, invited her to stay at Constantinople, and offered her an escort. This was a striking contrast to the merciless imprisonment of

¹ *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 422.

Katharine Evans and Sarah Chevers by the Grand Inquisition at Malta.

A less known vignette of the period is good to look back upon. It shows the figure of an otherwise unknown Friend, one Martha Lamb, standing alone apparently before the dark background of King Charles II. and his Council, pleading with them for the many hundreds of upright men and innocent women immured in the foul prisons of that day. Her message was in effect this : Friends, you must all come to judgment before the one Everlasting Judge, from whom there is no appeal. Let all sorts of people in the nations have the liberty of their consciences. Outward force will not bring any to know a better persuasion. Be it known unto you that we have counted the cost. The power of the Lord is in the midst of us. For His sake we suffer, and for no evil thing.

It is perhaps well that there is no extant portrait of Mary Dyer, the "Comely Matron" and Martyr, who when asked on the scaffold of Boston Common if she would like an Elder to pray for her, said, "Nay, first a child." A bystander wrote that she "shined in the image of God" as she passed away.

¹ *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, p. 86.

At the outset of Quakerism, any fears of worldliness and pride of intellect notwithstanding, the width of Fox's injunction that children of both sexes should be taught "all things civil and useful in creation," must have struck the teachers at least with some consternation; but the man must have been an Educationalist who in those stern days could leave the maxim behind him, "Discourage nothing in your children but evil, neither correct them in your own wills," and who sought to leave for the special benefit of the children of Philadelphia' a piece of land in that city, to include a botanical garden and playground.

Fox's *Journal* shows best how the call to social service sprang straight from the dictates of the Spirit of God.

Writing of the year 1648, at the very beginning of his public ministry, he says, "When I was at Mansfield, there was a sitting of the justices about hiring of servants; and it was upon me from the Lord to go and speak to the justices that they should not oppress the servants in their wages"; but alas, on coming to the Inn where the Court sat, a company of fiddlers, apparently serenading the justices, deflected him from his

¹ *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, by Maria Webb, 1865, p. 367.

true course. (He seems to have feared fiddling more than other forms of suffering.) When he came again in the morning, the justices had gone. The apprehension of having failed to obey the call of the Spirit was so keen, that he says, "I was struck even blind, that I could not see." On hearing that they were at a town eight miles off, "My sight began to come to me again, and I went and ran thitherward as fast as I could. When I came to the house where they were, and many servants with them, I exhorted the justices not to oppress the servants in their wages, but to do that which was right and just to them, and I exhorted the servants to do their duties and serve honestly. They all received my exhortation kindly, for I was moved of the Lord therein."¹ The young man must have set about this difficult kind of ministry well—as a rule Magistrates do not listen patiently to any one coming to advise them who has no *locus standi*. To him, evidently, the call came with power from the sanctuary of the innermost, not from the outward courts of the mind. That this burden of the poor lay heavily upon him follows from a further passage under the same date. "About this time I was sorely exercised in going

¹ Bi-cent, ed. 1891, p. 27.

to their courts to cry for justice, in warning such as kept public houses, that they should not let people have more drink than would do them good." "In fairs also, and in markets, I was made to declare against their deceitful merchandize, cheating and cozening ; warning all to deal justly, to speak the truth, and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them."¹ It is to be feared that at that period of English history the warning intended to be conveyed by the presence of the Market Cross had lost its spell ; whilst the day of Yearly Meeting Epistles on " Christianity and Business " had yet to come. It is worth noting, that Fox's first imprisonment at Nottingham² led to an act of restitution by one of the Sheriffs to a woman with whom he had had dealings in the way of trade. The Sheriff became another Zacchaeus, only more so, for he forthwith began to preach repentance to others in that fine market place. The " Youth " who had so influenced him, had, however, to go back to gaol. At Derby he preached to spirits very much in prison, both inwardly and outwardly, and by letter to those who sent them there. " I was," he says, " exceed-

¹ *Ibid*, p. 39.

² See *Friends' Historical Journal*, article on John Reckless, by E. Manners. Vol. VI., No. 2.

ingly exercised about the proceedings of the judges and magistrates, concerning their putting men to death for small matters ; for I was under great suffering in my spirit because of it, and under the very sense of death ; but standing in the will of God, a heavenly breathing arose in my soul to the Lord.”¹ His letters to the judges, short, full of point, beseeching, not declamatory, bear out this statement. Besides showing the wrong of capital punishment for stealing, “ I alsoe writ,” he says, “ to ye Judges what a sore thinge it was yt prisoners shoulde lye soe longe in gaole, and howe yt they learned badnesse one of another, in talkinge off their bad thinges ; and therefore, speedy Justice shoulde have beene donne.”²

These passages, with very many more like them, help us to understand how very real to this solitary young ex-shepherd, of twenty-six, was the vision of “ an ocean of darkness and death ” which seemed to cover the earth ; and with what compelling power the light and love of God began to flow over it. Nor was there by any means the narrowness, even in small things, which is sometimes attributed to his leadership.

¹ *Ibid*, p. 70.

² *Journal*, Camb. ed., 1911, i. 14.

Information has come down to us that the good man made a gift of red cloth to his wife, for a mantle. He may have been reading the last chapter of Proverbs, and have believed that red was the best colour for withstanding cold ; but it shows he had no wish to clothe humanity in drab. Members of Charity Organization Societies might think this entry in his journal more questionable—" Sometimes there would come two hundred of the poor of other people, and after the [general] Meeting, Friends would send to the bakers for bread ; for we were taught to do good unto all." On one occasion, Fox recommended this to be done at a wedding in the East Riding of Yorkshire, instead of preparing the customary feast for the few. In 1669 he urged Friends to have " a House and provide for them that be distempered ; and also an almshouse for all poor Friends that are past Work." In 1675 he seems to have anticipated our modern Nature Schools, by encouraging one William Thompson to set up a School to teach the languages, together with the nature of herbs, roots, plants, and trees. Another occasion when he bid sixty women Friends meet him to devise means for careful

¹ *Journal*, Bi-cent. ed., i. 470.

² *Epistles*, 1698, p. 287.

enquiries into the relief of the poor, and the necessities of Friends in want, especially widows and orphans,' suggests our recently formed Guilds of Help. It led to the less dignified name of the "Women's Box Meeting," from the boxes used for collections for this purpose on the first days of the week. When Meeting Houses had been built in London, it is said that Day Schools were carried on in nearly all of them. Labour Bureaus were anticipated by the suggestion that every market town should have a register for employers requiring labour, and labourers in search of work.

Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* characterizes war as a thing "very beastly"; and Erasmus scourges it with hotter words than those of any Quaker. The same sense of the incongruity of war with Christianity came strongly to Fox, the last of the Reformers. It did more, it so transformed his life, that he trod underfoot the proffered preferment of a Captaincy in the Commonwealth Army, and chose rather "the stinking place without any bed" in a Derby prison, and the society of thirty felons for nearly half a year, as the alternative.¹ To avoid any chance of misunderstanding, let it be fully

¹ *Journal*, Camb. ed., 1911, ii. 342.

² *Journal*, Bi-cent. ed., i. 69.

acknowledged that there is no item of Quaker doctrine which had not found expression somewhere before the rise of the Society. It is not only that the fine saying of Chesterton's might be applied to their principles---"Jesus said that long ago, as He said almost everything";¹ but that from its first Founder, Christianity has ever shown a succession of illuminated lives distinct from all ecclesiastical officialism. The pioneer work of the Friends has been mainly this: that in reviving forgotten or dimly apprehended truth, they daily applied it as the motive power of a community. Again, let us always remember that they did not create the early Puritan spirit which brought new liberty, and earnestness and purity to our land, and gave to England in Sir John Elliot, John Hampden, Colonel Hutchinson, John Milton, John Bunyan, and many others, some of the very noblest and manliest of all her sons.

As time went on, the Puritanism that conjoined itself to the sword developed, unhappily, by way of deterioration, as ethics ever do and must do that come to depend on brute force. In passing, a tribute is due to one branch of Puritanism; the Levellers, led by Gerrard

¹Quoted from *The Renaissance of Faith*, by R. Roberts.

Winstanley, and known as "The Diggers." A volume on this movement by Lewis H. Berens' (dedicated to the Society of Friends) deserves to be widely known. It supplies something of the dark social background that is missing in any detail in the Friends' writings (for reasons hereafter suggested), whilst it adds much to the force and pertinence of their denunciations of oppression, and zeal for the spread of that Light which they felt confident would quickly bring new and better conditions into being. Mr. Berens thinks that Winstanley's writings were the source whence the early Quakers drew their most characteristic tenets and doctrines. His statement that all Winstanley's theological writings were written and published in 1648-9, seems alone to disprove any such shadowy assumption. When they are put side by side with Fox's writings, William Penn's verdict holds good that the latter leader was "an original, being no man's copy." The similarity of views on some questions may be readily acknowledged.

Winstanley was a passive resister and ardent land reformer, claiming the right to settle on

¹ *The Digger Movement in the Days of the Commonwealth*, 1906.

unenclosed land to cultivate it. He held that "The earth was made by Almighty God to be a common treasury of livelihood to the whole of mankind, without respect of persons." For this faith he suffered, and prayed in these touching words, "Though they see that I cannot fight with fleshly weapons, yet they will strive with me by that power, so I see, Father, that England yet doth choose rather to fight with the sword of iron and of covetousness, than with the sword of the Spirit, which is love. And what Thy purpose is with the land, or with my body, I know not, but establish Thy power in me, and then do what pleases Thee." "Victory," he says, "that is gotten by the sword, is a victory slaves get one over the other; but victory obtained by love is a victory for a King." A statement of his that poor people are forced to work in some places for 4d., 5d. and 6d. per day, and that their earnings cannot find bread for their families, throws light on Fox's zeal in going to the Courts to plead for a living wage, when the rates of wages were fixed for the ensuing year. The Digger leader denounces the Norman tyranny, which he held had gripped the land of England; but he says, "The main work of reformers lies in this—to reform the

Clergy, Lawyers, and Law ; for all the complaints of the land are wrapped up within them three."

There is no evidence that Winstanley joined the Friends, but undoubtedly Lilburne, another Leveller leader, and others of their followers did.

The Puritanism which had made Quakerism possible was carried forward by it into a yet fuller and more fruitful life.

During the first generation of Friends many thousands of them went through a crucible of pain, either in their own persons, or for those who were dearer to them than life ; so that the very right to live as free men before their God often dominated, of necessity, all other considerations. The marvel to the reader of such volumes as Besse's *Sufferings*,¹ or even of the epitome presented in *The First Publishers of Truth*² is, that such numbers of English men and women became possessed by the all-dominating conviction that to be religious " is to possess the power of God, to be ruled by it alone ; this and nothing else." To their steadfastness through

¹ *Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers, to the year 1689*, by Joseph Besse, 1753.

² A volume containing early records of the introduction of Quakerism into England and Wales, edited by Norman Penney, 1907.

this fiery ordeal, we owe many of the victories by which succeeding generations have benefited. The inhumanity prevalent in that age in the ranks of justices and jailors is incredible according to modern standards of ethics. No stronger reason could easily be found for the Quakers' challenge to the ecclesiasticism of the day, than the divorce of the latter from humanity to its opponents. It can only be dimly understood on some such hypothesis as that suggested by the godly Scotchman, that "The Almighty may often have to do in His official capacity what He would scorn to do as a private individual." What other apology can be offered for the maintenance of persecution in the past, or of the militarism of to-day? The position taken up by the Quakers was very different. "A great cry is heard," says Howgill, "out of all nations of the poor and of the oppressed of his people, which he hath made; how they have been chopped to pieces as flesh for the pot, and ground to dust as though they had not been God's workmanship." "Therefore," called Fox to the rulers, "give attention to your Maker, and dread before Him; for nothing shall reign and rule but righteousness itself." His "Considerations" for both Houses of

Parliament, afterwards reprinted in his *Doctrinals*, repeats the appeal, " Let no one be put to death for cattle, or money, or any such outward things, and let no man be imprisoned or persecuted because that for conscience sake they cannot swear ; or for warning drunkards, cheaters, fighters, and quarrellers, to repent." " Let none keep Alehouses or Taverns but wholesome people, such as fear God and are able to lodge travellers, that there be no bad houses to nourish wickedness."

" Let all things be done in love that keeps down the spirit of strife, and mind the law of God Let your actions be accordingly, that all your dominions be as a family, and ruled in mercy, truth, and righteousness. That establishes Rulers and People in peace." A great-souled message from a sufferer cruelly ill-treated in Lancaster Castle at that time.

As men sought liberty in the new Colonies across the seas, Fox pleaded for those amongst whom they were going to settle, " My friends, keep your own plantations in your hearts with the power and spirit of God, that your own vines and lilies be not hurt ; invite all the Indians and their Kings, and have meetings with them or they with you . . . that you may all be kept warm

in God's loving power . . . that His name may be great among the heathen."

In a ponderous volume entitled *Gospel Truth Demonstrated, in a Collection of Doctrinal Books, given forth by George Fox*, setting forth "the principles deemed by him to be essential to Christianity," the whole atmosphere is that of religion, not of theology. It is well described by one of his comrades as addressed "to all that would know the Way to the Kingdom, whether they be in Forms, without Forms, or got above all Forms." These doctrinals are very broad—the utterances of a Prophet rather than of a Schoolman.

"Oh, earthly minded men, give over oppressing the poor. Exalt not yourselves above your fellow creatures, for ye are all of one mould and blood."

"And you that have not so much of the earth, give over your murmuring and fretting and grudging—the righteous God is coming to give to every one of you according to your works."

"You tradesmen, merchantmen of all sorts whatsoever, set no more upon the things you sell or exchange, than what you will have. Is it not more savoury to ask no more than you will have for your commodity, to keep to yea and nay, in

your communications, and here will be an equal balancing of things : so you will come to show a life like Christians. So a child shall trade with you as a man because of the equity, and people shall not be afraid of one cheating the other, or destroying one another."

"The light is but one, which is Christ : it will lead you to the Church of God from the Church of the world." "Where the eternal unity is, there is all peace. All is clean, there is no jar." "To all the Magistrates in London. Friends that are called Christians—your blind men, widows, and fatherless children crying up and down, half a dozen together for bread, poor and lame, is not this a shame for your Christianity ? How dwelleth the love of God in you ? Would not a little out of your abundance and superfluity maintain these poor children half lame and blind, or set them at work that can work ? Oh London, thou art fatted in the flesh : thy proportions are without life and from God empty."

"Some traders have a bad name, which deceive the country people who deal with you (with your dark back windows). This is to hang gold on the back, and let the legs go bare. You all are members of one body, the poor as well as the rich. For consider what abundance of

riches is in this city, and what good you might do with it—for that will be for your honour and renown.”

A reminder of the relations of Dives and Lazarus is very searching. “What doth all your pleasures and sumptuous fares and apparel avail you, whose dogs have more compassion upon the poor than you in your lifetime.” A passage from Job, “Surely there is a spirit in man, but the inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding,” leads on to the conviction that there is something of God in all men, if they would only “leave off their bustling and come to Christ.”

Fox’s exhortations to the various crowned heads of Europe are not without some point to-day, if decorously directed to their chancelleries. “All Christendom hath been on heaps, killing and destroying one another about Ministry, Church Worship; punishing, whipping and torturing the bodies of many. The cause is that Magistrates are out of the life of Christ, in which they shall have fellowship, and in which is the bond of peace.” To the Pope he wrote, “The earth almost swims with innocent blood.”

Whilst speaking of the leaders we shall miss one of the most striking characteristics of early

Quakerism if we pass by the spontaneity and thoroughness of its fellowship. In whatever district of the country the veil is lifted from the first "spreadings of Truth," we find vignettes of lives of much beauty, not seeking great things to do, but quietly doing them when they came in their way.

Two local illustrations suggest themselves here. The ruins of Scarborough Castle remind the sightseer of its last historical prisoner, George Fox. When threatened with hanging over the Castle wall, he said that he never feared death or suffering in all his life. This fearlessness evidently prevailed to an unusual extent amongst his followers. One of the rank and file who shared in the faith and persecution, little remembered now, was John Whitehead, a Puritan soldier, in the Castle garrison, who changed the weapons of his warfare gradually, going to Meetings on leave, and taking part in them for many months before he left the Army. (At that early time Friends leaned very lightly upon laws of their own devising.) After he had so left, the pleasure befell him of bearing the release of his leader from the Record Office in London to the Governor of Scarborough Castle. Of this man, the Governor of Pennsylvania writes as

“ a brother beloved, as dilligent and valiant under the banner of Christ as he had been under that of Oliver Cromwell,” “ a grounded man in the knowledge and work of Christ, and an able and just guide in business referred to him ; in friendship sweet and firm ” : whilst Whitehead writes to Fox in 1654, “ my deare brother, pray for me, yt I may be kept armed with the eternal wisdom and power above all the world’s wisdom.” It is said of him that “ he laboured night and day to preach the gospel without charge ; that he thought no pains too great to gain a soul for God.”¹

Take also Richard Sellers, an inshore fisherman, plying his trade under the Castle to which an escort of soldiers was bringing their invalided prisoner, George Fox, a five days journey from Lancaster to Scarborough. Sellers was pressed for the “ Royal Prince,” the flagship stationed at the Nore. He refused to serve, or to eat the King’s victuals. He was beaten mercilessly day after day, and chained and starved by the week. Condemned to death ultimately by a court-martial, he was brought out to be hung before the assembled captains and crews of the

¹ See *The Life and Writings of John Whitehead*, by Thomas Chalk, 1852.

fleet. A sudden quarrel between the Puritan Admiral and the Papist President of the court martial saved him. He afterwards was the means of saving the ship, and he succoured the wounded in what is known as the four days' fight with the Dutch. He was then given his discharge handsomely, and returned home a free man, with the friendship of the Admiral, officers, and crew, to suffer the usual distrainments for going to the Friends' Meeting at Scarborough.¹

The love and loyalty of these strong men to their God overflowed in enthusiasm for humanity. Such lives remind us, not of cisterns for the storing of this truth or of that ; but rather of ever-flowing springs, broadening and strengthening as the years passed by. There was no disillusioning at last, but instead a fuller realization of the presence of Divine power, and often an atmosphere of intense peace.

Stephen Crisp, a leading merchant of Colchester, who went through much tribulation for his faith, made a public appeal in 1666 on behalf of the labourers in the Eastern counties : it shows the place the custom of gleaning had in those days. " All ye Husbandmen and Farmers,

¹ See *Collection of Sufferings*, by Joseph Besse, 1753, ii. 112.

in time of harvest remember that the portion of the poor be not gathered, but consider that the Lord has regarded their need ; neither be churlish nor bitter to them, but let them have their portion without diminishing—to your hired servants giving that which is due for their encouragement, not oppressing them in work nor in wages, but all mind the Truth of God, the equal witness between you, which secretly calls for righteousness towards all men, and equity, as ye would have from all men.”¹

There is proof that in giving such advice the Friends first followed it themselves. In a handbill a copy of which was given to King Charles II., a Friend, Thomas Atkin, pleads for their many prisoners, on the ground that the whole aim and drift in their preaching and living is to encourage goodness, mercy and truth. He adds these pleas also—“ They take care for the poor that there may not be a beggar amongst them ; they provide for such amongst them as are out of work, by setting their families to work, and by giving them better wages than shopkeepers will.”²

¹ *A Word in due Season : or Some Harvest-Meditations*, 1666.

² *Some Reasons why the People called Quakers ought to enjoy their Meetings Peaceably*, 1660.

George Fox, the Younger, in a broadsheet says, "Lay no more upon your servants than ye would be willing should be laid upon you if ye were in their places and conditions [and *vice versa*]. And all ye . . . who have the Creatures of God to buy or sell, or exchange . . . do not speak better or worse of the Creatures than ye know them to be, thereby to get the greater gain ; for that is Idolatory arising from Covetousness. Use but few words in your trading, and keep in the light that is equal ; let that be your rule, and not the price of the market, that so ye may reach the equal principle one in another, and then stand to your word . . . then true worship, true weight, true measure, shall be set up . . . and the Lord be exalted over all the works of His Hands."¹

In *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, W. C. Braithwaite has given the passage from Fox's *Journal*, showing how the tide turned in favour of the persecuted tradesmen, as it became known that a child was as well used as its parents at any of their shops, and also how the good effect of fixed prices ultimately asserted itself in William Edmondson's trading in Ireland, p. 152. This crops up, too, in Fox's *Doctrinals*, and elsewhere.

¹ *An Exhortation to Families*, etc. 1659.

That the usual practice was so bad as to trouble the conscience of a sensitive boy appears from the biography of Humphry Smith, who was known as "The Prophet of Herefordshire" when he died in Winchester gaol, aged only thirty-nine. He tells how, when he was sent to market by his father, before joining Friends, he could not bring himself to charge more than the reserve price given him at home.

Professor Thorold Rogers states, in his volumes on *Work and Wages*, that "The essence of medieval trade was the bargaining. It was no doubt as long and as anxiously discussed as it now is in an Eastern town." The Friends held that this violated the principles of mutual equity which should govern commerce, so they led the revolt against it. The records of their Church meetings show that the general body of Friends were at one with their leaders upon these questions.

These "Business Meetings" were designed to give effect to the all-prevailing thought of the oneness of life under the presidency of Divine guidance. There is a clerk, but no chairman, and no voting.

The following minute of a Quarterly Meeting in Ireland in 1702, represents a quaint but evidently

real desire, that any erring manufacturer should first be reconciled to his customer before coming to offer his gift on the shrine of worship. It runs—"Complaint is made that linen and woollen goods were made slightly, and so of little service to the wearer—A concern came upon the meeting lest any Friend should bring dishonour upon the blessed Truth, therefore Monthly Meetings are to tell manufacturers, without any respect of persons, that in case of refractory non-compliance they forfeit their privilege of sitting in their men and women's Meetings."

The earliest Minute Book of Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting (1669) begins with a note of these things which ought to be enquired of the Monthly Meetings, "that none of them be undone." All of them relate to life and conduct. No. 1 stands—"Do you take care of the poor, that nothing be lacking in your Meeting?" Then follows the advising of widows or orphans left desolate, the healing of any difficulties, either amongst themselves or with "the World." The need of settlements in case a widow with children marries again, etc., etc.

The Minutes that follow in order between 1669-81, relate very largely to such matters. Under the pressure of severe persecution it is

clear that the means of help often ran short. Those who could gather together were having a hard battle to live decently themselves, yet they made many loans to Friends in difficulties; at times they assisted in the payments of debts to the world; now and then kindly aid came from less hotly persecuted quarters. There must have been some leaders of good judgment in business, for in 1673 a Minute runs, "That none contract debts they cannot meet, nor undertake business they understand not, without first taking the advice of their Friends" !

The numbers of Friend prisoners, many of them indigent, with "more daily committed," led to the raising of a stock, "Whereby they might be employed in some labour to their subsistence." "This," it is added, "will be a refreshment to them, and a good savour of 'Truth.'" The approach of winter is marked by this item: "It is the sense of this Meeting that two or three chaldrons of coals be laid in for the Friends at the Castle."

Captives in Algiers were remembered, and small grants made to furnish Friends who had travels beyond the seas laid upon them.

The Monthly Meeting^{*} Records up and down the land show what a large place the apprenticeship of

boys to some suitable handicraft or calling had in those Church gatherings. This was a matter Fox urged frequently. " Let every Quarterly Meeting make enquiries through all the other Meetings, to know all Friends that are widows, or others that have children to put out to apprenticeship, so that once a quarter you may set forth an apprentice from your Quarterly Meetings, or more if there be occasion. Thus being placed out to Friends, they may be trained up in the Truth . . . to be a strength and help to their families, and nurses and preservers to their relations. In all things the wisdom of God will teach you."

In 1695, the Quarterly Meeting advised that School Masters and Mistresses, who are faithful Friends and well qualified, be encouraged in all counties, cities, great towns and other places where there may be need, and that care be taken that poor Friends' children may freely partake of such education as may tend to their benefit and advantage, in order to apprenticeship. A general Meeting at Glastonbury (1659) closes an exhortation as to the education and training of children with the wholesome thought, " that none live idle in the creation."

Friends at Bristol, their heavy sufferings notwithstanding, must have been better off in

worldy goods than their fellows in the North. Their money grants ruled higher. It looks as if they had kept up a kind'y cognizance of the return of distressed refugees to and from Ireland. By a minute of 1673, five Friends are desired "to receive £5 out of public stock, and ride down to the Pill to-morrow, there to visit the passengers bound for Ireland, and relieve them as they shall see meet."¹ It is not clear whether the recipients were in fellowship or not. But the grants and special collections made for poor French protestants in Bristol (refugees on the Revocation of the edict of Nantes) knew no denominational limits, and the Mayor of Bristol was consulted with regard to considerable distributions in their case, although the Friends' Meetings whence these collections came were, at that time, illegal. In 1687, the Meeting appealed against the high assessment of their premises for the Poor Rate, "inasmuch as it was maintaining divers poor of the parish."

The first public Fire Insurance Office in this country is said to have been founded in 1749. Before this time, under a general and ancient practice of the realm, briefs requesting contri-

¹ These items have been taken from the Minute Books by A. N. Brayshaw, LL.B.

butions from Churches were the appointed means of meeting heavy losses by fire.¹ Bristol Meeting responded liberally to these appeals, whether they came from within or without Friends' fellowship. In 1672, £142 5s. 9d. was collected for George Embry, of Southampton, who had lost everything in a sudden fire. He was a Friend, but donations were also made to briefs on behalf of many places and persons far and near in no way connected with the Society.

In the year 1696, Bristol Friends established a workhouse to meet the case of weavers out of work. The experiment must have had some success ; for two years later an expensive house was built for Friends who were so willing to work, and for the aged and feeble to live in ; boys were afterwards included, both for school instruction and to be taught to weave woollen stuffs called " Cantaloons." About 1721, the trading side was discontinued as unprofitable.

BETWEEN PROPHETS AND PHILANTHROPISTS.

The apostle of these industrial undertakings was John Bellers, of London (1654-1725). He is a most interesting link between the high pressure

¹ See art. by Joel Cadbury in *The Journal of Friends Historical Society*, vol. iii.

prophets of the first generation of Quakerism and the philanthropists of its quietest period. He suffered imprisonment for his faith with the first ; and yet like the second threw himself with much of the zeal and knowledge of a modern specialist into distinctively social service. Robert Owen gave publicity to some of his appeals at the beginning of the last century ; but their best *résumé* is to be found in the German history of European Socialism, afterwards referred to. It is hardly to our credit that the ingenious writings of John Bellers on our duties to our neighbours have not yet been re-edited—that they have indeed attracted more attention in Germany than in England.

Marx has described Bellers as “ a veritable phenomenon in the history of Political Economy.” He was most insistent upon his scheme for Colleges of Industry, which he renewed and revised many times. He felt keenly “ the miseries of the poor,” and yet reckoned them as the treasure of the nation, their labours being “ the mines of the rich.” His plans for educational Industrial Settlements were worked out with a curious blending of shrewdness and enthusiasm. It is clear he carried the sympathy of Friends with him, for the second

edition of his scheme was commended to the weighty attention of the fellowship by Thomas Ellwood, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and forty other well-known leaders.

In an appeal to Parliament twenty years later, Bellers refers to the excellent provision made for the poor of Holland, and the surprising success of Orphan Homes in the King of Prussia's dominions.

In 1701 London Quarterly Meeting followed that of Bristol, and took action. It was reported that there were then 184 aged poor in London in association with Friends, who were capable of some sort of work ; and 47 children fit for employment. Some £1,900 was raised, and a large house taken in Clerkenwell for the experiment.

The task of profitably uniting industries and education for age and youth in one establishment, with common dietaries, proved then, as such schemes have done ever since, to be a most perplexing problem. Yet it was not lightly abandoned. An account of the charities of London in 1810 speaks highly of the institution, then removed to "Goswell Street Road," and says "There are now in the house about four old persons, besides fifteen boys and fifteen girls." After migrations and trans-

migrations many, the developrent of the original seed plant must now be looked for in the excellent Boarding School at Saffron Walden ; though the work of the Bedford Institute Association seems in many ways to be nearer akin to the purposes of the early scheme.¹

Bellers held, by the bye, that his colleges would help to do away with "all useless trades—lawyers, bad debts, beggars, and much now wasted house room." He showed a clear profit in his prospective balance sheet.

The many miserable and helpless objects he encountered in the streets of London sorely exercised his spirit. With keen regret he notes the receding wave of the fervour of the Commonwealth period, and the advent "of another sort of men, pursuing the pleasures and vanities of the world." If Friends would only raise as many workhouses as there were Meetings, every Meeting, he was sure, would find some benefit from so doing. "Whilst such good works," he adds, "will convince many people that God is amongst us of a truth."

His three-fold axiom was, "The hand employed brings profit ; the reason used makes

¹ (See *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, vol. v, p. 192).

wise ; and the will subdued makes for good."

" If we improve our land," he urged, " multiply our people (upon it), increase our treasure, and perfect our rules and policy, we could live with half the labour we do."

Bellers, as has been indicated, shared the prophetic spirit of the seventeenth century, as well as the humanitarianism of the eighteenth. An almost passionate appeal to the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London, on behalf of the hooligans of their city, who would assuredly be found confronting them at the " Last Great Day of Account," and a fine evangelical appeal to prisoners to be posted in the cells and dungeons of England, ranks with the former ;—and schemes for purifying parliamentary elections, for placing medical aid within the reach of all men, along with a general circulation of the latest medical and sanitary discoveries, with the latter. He computed that 200,000 persons died yearly in England, when no pestilences were raging (" but our animosities "), and that every able industrious labourer dying before his time represented a loss of £200 to the Kingdom. Looking further afield, he elaborated and published a proposal similar in aim to that of William Penn in 1693, for a Supreme Court to settle

International Disputes, but varying considerably as to methods. He reminded rulers of their direct responsibility to their God ; urging that Muscovites are Christians, and Mohammedans are men ; and that " beating out their brains to put sense into them is a great mistake." A yet greater proof of the charity which hopeth all things, and believeth all things, is to be found in his appeal to the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the province of Canterbury for an amicable conference of all persuasions in the British dominions, which would make them less apt to misrepresent, and better able to understand, one another. His keynote for this daring suggestion is thus phrased, " What is prayed for of God above men must be instrumental to accomplish here below, there being few, if any, who believe He will make His angels visible to do it "—a far reaching thought. Our German authors say, " We find in him the clearest and boldest thoughts of the religious and social revolutionist of the seventeenth century. He grasps the money question and foreign trade with definiteness and precision. He constantly appeals to duty. He combats in the most decisive manner the laws directed against machinery. He was no mere theoretic philanthropist ; he forms the boundary

stone—not merely chronological—between the communism of the seventeenth, and the efforts for reform of the eighteenth centuries.”

It may be urged that John Bellers was a very exceptional person ; so he was, in originality and alertness of mind. The tidal wave of life that brought him into prominence developed these qualities, and fostered far-sightedness, as it put its philanthropy into practice. To him these proposals were the right way of honouring his Divine Master, and as such they received the sympathetic assent of his fellows. When in after years the Society became more of an enclosed garden, it lost much of the extensiveness of its early plannings, as well as some of the intensiveness of its early ploughings. In reading its history backwards, we are too apt to underestimate the former.

In facing the question of poverty under relentless persecution, the London Monthly Meetings raised £100 to buy flax in order to provide spinning for the indigent. This evidently proved beneficial, for in two years time it was found necessary to appoint a woman Friend as superintendent of the industry. A Yorkshire coast Monthly Meeting records a small advance for hemp for net making. It is less easy to

comprehend why Southwark Monthly Meeting became the possessors of two fire engines, with a standing committee for each. The expenditure must have been large in those days. It probably emanated from public spirit similar to that which distinguished the well-known Volunteer Life Brigade instituted by a family of Friends at the mouth of the Tyne.

The deep and practical fellowship of these people, rich and poor, educated and simple, is nowhere more convincingly shown than in the earnest recommendation of London Quarterly Meeting, so late as 1728, for the maintenance of "the ancient and honourable practice of bearing our dead Friends to the grave on our own shoulders." William Beck, who published this Minute,¹ estimated that there were probably 10,000 persons at one time who professed with Friends in the Metropolis, and says that coffins were brought from Westminster to Bunhill. Such advice, with the dim thought of 13,000 men and women as prisoners, in the reign of the second Charles alone, deserves pondering over to-day.

It has been estimated that in the first fifty years of the Society there were more than

¹ *London Friends' Meetings*, by Beck and Ball, 1869, p. 78

3,000 separate publications issued in defence of Truth, by more than 600 writers. These pamphlets, posters, and even folios of the age of persecution remind the reader of lava, cold on the surface, yet witnessing to the latent heat once to be found below. Their scanty successors of a later time remind one rather of the spring vegetation of stored up life, asserting itself again with almost too gentle insistence. Some such change was natural, even inevitable, as noisome dungeons with "bolts and bars as their jewels" gave place to homes often "deep meadowed, fair, with orchard lawns," and to the exceeding happiness of family life within, a happiness all the deeper because to woman was accorded her true place of equality. (A pioneer in University Extension service, and co-worker with Mrs. Josephine Butler, once remarked to the writer that whilst generally speaking men were more interesting to talk to than women, his experience was that in the homes of the Friends the contrary was the case !)

A paragraph of the General Epistle of 1805 represents the change from the white heat of compelling conviction under persecution, to the cautious persistence of quieter days. "On the calamitous subject of war we do not feel

much now to say. Friends, you are not ignorant of what adorns our profession, with respect to this subject. Only this would we say, Make it not a topic of conversation. Guard against placing your dependence on fleets and armies; be peaceable yourselves in words and actions; and pray to the Father of the Universe that He would breathe the spirit of reconciliation into the hearts of His erring and contending creatures." Such pale enthusiasm recalls a complaint the writer once received from Charles Spurgeon—that the present generation of Friends were too apt to "fight with cold pudding instead of hot shot." The same epistle, however, records one Friend's imprisonment for three months, and the imposition of fines amounting to £1,600 under the Militia laws. "Keep out of even the spirit of contest," is a characteristic keynote of this period. Happily, the cry of the slaves and the call of justice for the Indians were heard and felt even by the most retiring of Friends, enabling them to see in Fox's fine words that "he who wrongs his neighbour wrongs himself," and with great modesty, but not a little grace, the era of the more distinctly philanthropic efforts began to dawn. The contrast of these two epochs

of the Society with their unity in the upwelling Spirit even after all traces of geyser upheavals had passed away, may be brought into relief most clearly by glimpses of three lives, rather than by a general summing up.

PHILANTHROPY.

No one is more representative of the modern renaissance of Quakerism, endeavouring to serve its fellows under their altered conditions in town and country alike, than William Allen. He was no theologian, but a business man who had found the new and living way, and with great singleness of purpose sought to share it with others. He built up a considerable chemist's business, but refused to supply drugs to the army of the Emperor of Russia, who became his friend. He found "rich feasts" in botany, and a favourite relaxation in astronomy. He studied navigation when at sea, and taught himself Latin, French, German, and some Russian, on land. He studied at Guy's Hospital, and rose to be its President. He gained distinction in chemistry and experimental philosophy; lectured at the Royal Institution for Sir Humphry Davy, as well as for himself, and was a friend of many of the foremost

scientists of the day, at home and abroad. Whilst holding that science tends to enlarge men's views, increase their love of truth and order, give tone and vigour to their minds, and some true vision "of the unity which prevails in heaven," it was in the fields of the spiritual kingdom that he sowed most ungrudgingly, and reaped his richest harvest. In co-operation with his fellow Friends and others, William Allen laboured earnestly to end the abominable slave trade. A German historian naïvely remarks that eventually "even the Bishops joined them." The struggle was long and arduous. For the sake of the negroes Friends stood before kings, perplexing masters of ceremonies by their scruples. Preferring the background for themselves, they won the confidence and support of statesmen. To Allen, Wilberforce wrote, "With you I have no reserves." The Duke of Wellington took him from Vienna to Verona, that he might consult with him there the oftener; and promised to continue "the attention I always give to whatever comes from you."

The wasting of the city multitudes through countless evils and miseries at his own doors stirred Allen as intently as did the open sore of slavery abroad; he felt that both were in grievous

contradiction to the unity of creation, and the beneficence of the Creator.

When famine came upon the weavers of Spitalfields, he convened a visiting committee of forty Friends at his own house, and with them started a soup kitchen (1d. per quart) for all comers—adding some tons of cod, and a cargo of herrings. He believed that efficient visiting could do much to cope preventively with the sore ills all around them, and bring about great changes for the better. He took over the British and Foreign School Society from its erratic genius, Joseph Lancaster, raised a capital sum of £10,000, and nursed into life similar schemes for Elementary Schools in Russia, Spain, Italy, France, Hayti, and South America. He put much energy into the work of the Bible Society, started and edited a valuable journal, *The Philanthropist*, and became a principal shareholder in Robert Owen's great experiment of the Lanark Mills, hoping they would prove to be examples to the whole manufacturing world.

At that time the wages of agricultural labourers over large districts were eked out by Poor Law Relief. Thorold Rogers says, " At no period of English history for which authentic records exist, was the condition of manual labour

worse than it was in the forty years, 1782-1821, the period in which manufacturers and merchants accumulated fortunes rapidly, and in which the rent of agricultural land was doubled.”¹

Allen set to work to combat this state of affairs both by appeal and example. With help from John Smith, M.P., he built ‘twenty-five cottages with allotments of from half-an-acre to five acres, along with a small house for himself at Lindfield, and established there an agricultural training school for twenty youths. He published pamphlets on Colonies at home, and the means of diminishing the poor rates. He searched Ireland and the Continent for more light and knowledge on the land question. The last entry in his diary was at Lindfield; and there he died. William Allen’s simple prayer, “May all our thoughts be acceptable to the Supreme,” gives the mainspring to these many activities. All his interests and philanthropies were secondary to his communion with God.

His seven visits to the continent were each religious in purpose. In Russia, the Czar in confessing to him that he suffered loss from the spirit of the world, added, “when with you I can breathe.” Allen spoke frankly to Royalties

¹ *Six Centuries of Work and Wages.*

because he felt keenly for prisoners, for the ignorant, and the poor. He was able to fraternize with ecclesiastics, because they felt he was endeavouring to do the Divine will. He found the Spirit of God at work among Mohammedans. Wherever he went, prisoners felt the breath of reform instead of that of retaliation. To Mennonites and Greeks, Waldenses and Dukhobors, life became better as they shared with their English visitor in "the bliss of the gentle." He was watchful over himself to punctiliousness. His cup of tea must have no slave-grown sugar, even in the private room of an Emperor. He upbraided himself with being "too much afraid of confessing the Supreme"—and of being "accounted a fool for Christ's sake," and on his last visit to Lindfield, he confided to his niece, "I am afraid my dear we are almost too happy."

Thomas Shillitoe was a man of very different mould ; not troubled with intellectuality, timid and ever fearing that "bonds and afflictions awaited him." He found less temptation in life as a maker of shoes than as a bank clerk ; yet he left legacies of moral courage behind him by the inflow of a life which was certainly not his own.

¹ *Life of William Allen*, 3 vols., 1846 ; *Memoir of William Allen, F.R.S.*, by James Sherman, 1851.

In 1812, seventeen men were executed at York for machine breaking and crimes connected therewith in the West Riding. It was laid upon him to go and sit in companionship with all the families so left, thus sharing in a distress his human nature hardly knew how to endure. He gave long months to the visiting of dram shops and drinking dens in Ireland; and got himself into trouble on the continent by anticipating Josephine Butler's and George Gillett's work there, and remonstrating with the authorities against the vileness of licensed prostitution.¹

Elizabeth Fry, unquestionably an exceptional worker for humanity, is too well known to call for many words here. That a girl of eighteen should alone form and hold a Bible School of seventy children (known in the family as "Betsy's imps") speaks highly for her natural abilities. When, at the age of thirty-three, she and Anna Buxton were allowed to visit the crowd of women and children at Newgate, the Governor feared theft. Instead, there followed much weeping. These visits, as the *Times* stated the other day, "were the germ of a movement which in after years was to sweep away altogether the hellish scenes she first encountered in the gaol,

¹ *Journal of Thomas Shillitoe*, 2 vols., 1839.

to humanise our penal laws, to civilize our methods of transportation, and incidentally carry her name and fame with honour throughout the civilized world." Possibly an even wider service than any of these was the liberty she won for women in a great variety of ministries. Her influence was equally happy and powerful, whether she was at tea with a poor cobbler, dining with the King of Prussia, or dispensing with the customary toasts before Royalties at the Mansion House. After visiting Kaiserswerth she instituted an order of Nursing Sisters in England. After hearing of the finding of a boy frozen on a doorstep, she established a night shelter for the homeless. Distressed by the multitude of beggars at Brighton, she was the means of founding a District Visiting Society there. She broke down many hindering barriers of custom and conventionality, and led womanhood into a larger place of liberty and labour.¹

THE TEST OF POWER.

Quaker principles were tested in some respects more severely in what are now the United States of America than anywhere else, first by martyrdom, subsequently by their accessions to

¹ *Elizabeth Fry*, by Georgina K. Lewis, 1909.

power. Their struggle with militant Puritanism in one of the age-lasting conflicts between law and liberty, culminated in four martyr deaths on the scaffold of Boston Common. That their principles were practicable and could be worked out in the public life of communities was proved as Friends became charged with the governments of important States in the making. As a matter of fact they rose to power in four of the early Colonies, but for present purposes it must suffice to deal at any length with Pennsylvania. The "Holy Experiment" was subject to many limitations. When Charles the Second handed the vast territory over to William Penn in discharge of a Crown debt to his father Admiral Penn, sovereign rights were reserved over the constitution and government of the new State. This reservation was never allowed to become illusory. By it the freedom of the Proprietor was seriously fettered, and the fearless upholding of peace and concord, the dispensing with oaths, and the abolition of capital punishment, except for murder, were made very difficult, in some cases impossible. Again, the States that surrounded the Quakers in their dealings with the dispossessed Indians seldom rose above the current moralities of the time, and Quaker pacifics often

suffered from the reckless wrong-doing of others. Penn's government of Pennsylvania began in 1682. Its free and enlightened constitution attracted settlers from Europe, and it grew more rapidly than any other Colony. After 1700, non-Quaker residents became the majority. The government, however, remained in Quaker hands (some unfortunate Governors notwithstanding) until 1756, when Friends formed but one-third of the population. Owing largely to the difficulty of resisting any longer the war spirit then abroad, several members faithful to the old *régime* retired, and the Quaker rule terminated, after lasting seventy-four years. It is safe to say that the government of Pennsylvania during these seventy-four years forms a singularly valuable object lesson, in the practical advantages of civil and religious freedom, the feasibility of maintaining amity with savage neighbours, the absence of corruption, and the spread of sound elementary education in a newly settled country. King Charles in granting the charter (and insisting on the name of the state) had made merry over the thought of Penn's peace principles ending with his disappearance into the camp kettles of Indian warriors. No brighter page, however, can be found in the

history of the relationships between civilized and native races than that of the firm friendship formed and continued between the Friends and the Indians of Pennsylvania. (The latter often proved to be good neighbours in time of need, and took care of the white children when the parents were away at meeting.) One of the proofs of this was seen when President Grant in the last generation inaugurated a humane and reformed Indian policy. He at once called upon Friends to aid him in administering the native reservations. Fiske, one of the most searching of American historians, says of William Penn,¹ "Take him for all in all, he was by far the greatest amongst the Founders of the American Commonwealth." His desire was to found a spiritual, as well as a social democracy. In his fundamental constitutions he arranged for one House of Representatives to be elected annually, who were then to select forty-eight of their number as an Upper Chamber. Primogeniture was abolished, also imprisonment for debt for small sums, and capital punishment for all offences against property. Oaths, alehouses, bull and bear baitings, cards and dice, were to be illegal.

¹ *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, by John Fiske, 1899, ii. 98.

In 1685, the Friends' Yearly Meeting was unanimous against the sale of strong drink to Indians, as inconsistent with the honour of Truth; and in 1701, a stringent law against the sale of spirits was put on the statute book. That the propelling power came from the more spiritual assemblies is shown by the way in which the Minute of the Meeting ultimately became the preamble of the Statute.

In 1693, Penn published a carefully thought-out scheme for a European Parliament, to substitute judicial arbitrament instead of war. He also anticipated the founding of the United States by a plan for the Union of the American Colonies, to consider questions common to all. A tempting pecuniary offer to purchase a monopoly of the Indian trade was refused by the Governor, with the remark, "I would not defile what came to me clean."

Philadelphia speedily became the largest, best governed, and most progressive city in the Colonies of North America. Its free atmosphere attracted a company of scientists of high repute on both sides of the Atlantic. The early legislation of the State on elementary education was unusual, but apparently effective. The recital in a statute ran, "To the end that the poor

as well as the rich be instructed in good and commendable learning, which is to be preferred before wealth." It went on to enact that all persons having children were to cause such to be instructed in reading and writing by the time they attained to twelve years of age, and that they were to be taught some useful trade. The penalty in default was £5. The records of the State were never marred by any punishments for sorcery or witchcraft. In Massachusetts witches were hung as late as 1692.

In 1698, the Friends of Germantown, under their leader, Pastorius, sent a message to the Yearly Meeting that liberty of body should go along with liberty of conscience, "to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against." Both Fox and Penn had sounded the note of liberty, but it tarried in its final coming. Pennsylvania, however, was the first State on the American Continent to abolish slavery.

The Spanish war in 1739 followed after thirty years of the greatest peace and prosperity. It brought forebodings with it as to the future, but up to then the Quaker government had performed its functions with quietness and vigour. Paper money was issued in moderate amounts, was never

depreciated, and developed business enterprise. Taxes were light, and mostly raised from tavern licences. Foreign trade and shipping were free from imposts except those imposed by England. The criminal laws, whilst severe (at the instance of the home authorities), were humanely executed, and life and property were secured by an alert magistracy and a conscientious population. Oaths were voluntary ; war did not exist—there were no militia companies, and but little martial feeling. The best men of the Colony, men of the highest education, held by the choice of the people the highest offices of the government : no taint of political corruption seems to have vitiated the dignity of office holding. The historian of the influence of Quakerism in the building of the American Colonies (Dr. Sharpless) remarks, “Had all the settlers in Pennsylvania been Friends, very little civil government would have been needed.” Taken as a whole, the experiment may be fearlessly compared with the upgrowth and shaping of any newly settled country, either in ancient or modern times.

When Andrew Hamilton gave up the Speakership of the Assembly in 1739, he attributed the great progress of the province chiefly to “the

¹ *A Quaker Experiment in Government*, 1898, p. 22.

excellency of its constitution, as framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn." ¹

Next to Penn, the most notable of Quaker Colonial governors was John Archdale,² who ruled for some ten years in the Carolinas. He was also specially successful with the Indians, insisting that they should be treated with respect as *persons*, and established in their elementary rights. In the face of keen racial jealousies between the British and French he prepared the way for the complete neutralization of the Huguenots ; and secured friendly relations with the Roman Catholic Spaniards of Florida. He drafted the first State Act for the regulation of the liquor traffic, also valuable measures for the administration of charity, and the relief of the poor. He tackled the difficult question of the land laws, and improved them ; and he inaugurated kindness towards shipwrecked mariners, as Fox had done amongst the wreckers of Cornwall. In leaving for England, he was accorded the warmest thanks of the Colony for the firm foundations he had laid. At home he was returned by his neighbours to the House of Commons, but his refusal to swear cost him the seat.

¹ Fiske, *op. cit.* ii. 328.

² *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, R. M. Jones, p. 340.

After Quakerism had been overborne by numbers in the legislatures of the Colonies, it turned away from politics other than those of peace, temperance, and slavery, and devoted itself, as in the home country, mainly to philanthropy.

THE QUIET LIFE.

The New England Yearly Meeting of 1784 issued what Rufus Jones speaks of as "A noble appeal" against the excessive use of spirituous liquors. It runs, "This has for a long time been seen by our Society to be a practice tending to lead from all calmness and innocency to the many evils which are the consequences of intemperance. We recommend to all Friends everywhere carefully to look at the motives of being concerned therewith, not only for using but distilling, importing, trading, or handing out to others who from habit may have acquired a thirst and inclination after it, tending to their hurt. We tenderly advise all such as are concerned therein to centre down to the principle leading to universal righteousness."¹

In its middle age of Quietism, after the manner of the old country, the American Friends

¹ *Quakers in American Colonies*, 1911, p. 148n.

gave the world three social reformers of deep religious convictions and prevailing strength. Some of their attractive power may be due to the fact that two out of three were naturalized Frenchmen.

No Hebrew prophet, unless it be Hosea, could have been more sensitive to the sins of oppression committed against the weak, or to the sadness of the separation between man and his God, than John Woolman. Before him the last remnants of slavery shrank back abashed, to trouble his own people no more. He lives still in his ethical and spiritual interpretation of economics—less brilliant than Ruskin's, more elemental, more direct from the source. An inward life of love to God expresses itself (he held) in justice and goodness to all creation. Carlyle's sentence "Sublimar in this world I know nothing than a peasant saint. Such a one will take thee back to Nazareth," may not unfitly remind the world of John Woolman. His letter to the rich has of late years been reprinted by the Fabian Society.¹

An apostle of the Gentiles, with the gifts of a French aristocrat, Stephen Grellet carried the life and liberty of the Spirit alike to the prisons

¹ *The Journal with other Writings of John Woolman*, in "Everyman's Library."

and palaces of Europe, and also to the harlots of London, whom he invited to meet him at one of the Friends' Meeting Houses in that city.¹ From him came the call to Elizabeth Fry to engage in her prison work.

It is curious to read in a correspondence preserved in the Paris National Archives (see *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, vol. v.) of the alarms of the Minister of Public Worship at Stephen Grellet's "Vagabondage" through France—the fears arose from an understanding that Quakerism forbids military service, oaths, and in certain cases the payment even of taxes. Few, if any, mortals have lived more consistently in the spirit of Penn's maxim, *viz.*, "the humble, meek, merciful, just, pious, and devout souls, are everywhere of one religion; and when death has taken off the mask they will know one another, though the diverse liveries they wear here make them strangers."

The least known of the three, Anthony Benezet (1713-84), was also a French refugee. He joined Friends at the age of fourteen, and renounced commerce for handicraft, and then for teaching. Richly endowed with intellectual ability, he lived wholly for others. He started a girl's high class

¹ *Stephen Grellet*, by William Guest, 1903.

school at Philadelphia, and opened out a new life to a deaf and dumb pupil. He gave his evenings to a school for negroes, and found as great a variety of talents amongst them as amongst whites. He wrote to the sovereigns of Europe on the wickedness of the slave trade, and published an account of its ravages in Guinea, which first opened the eyes of Thomas Clarkson to his life's work of liberation. He espoused the cause of the Indians, and gave his own blankets to his fellow countrymen, the banished Acadians, whose sorrows Longfellow has depicted in *Evangeline*. It is said he educated many of their daughters, and that his charities to them were constant and unremitting. Benezet succeeded in getting a State law passed prohibiting the distraining of stoves for rent. He founded a Humane Society. He grieved over "rich silks trailing on the ground," whilst holding that a penurious mind was "barely rational." He was known to give his coat to a needy man in the street (presumably a garment of cotton velvet, which he found to be comfortable and enduring).

The Revolutionary War was quietly combatted by Benezet, who held that as Christianity knew no enemies, violent methods must be

departures from the true foundation. In principle he was a vegetarian, and he wrote against intoxicants. He carried on a correspondence with the Abbé Raynal and other distinguished foreigners. It is said that the French Ambassador in leaving the States embraced him publicly. He lived above all contentious theology, and when he died animosities were hushed in a day of public sorrow. Fearing eulogy, and desiring to guard against it, he wrote as his epitaph—
“Anthony Benezet was a poor creature, and through Divine favour was enabled to know it.”

Returning from this Trans-atlantic digression, with its closely parallel lessons to those of the homeland, it follows that if our contention be true, each forward step in the social advance of Christendom answers more or less directly to some fresh upwelling of Spirit force, and is thus true to the original type as pictured by Harnack. He writes, “It was by preaching to the poor, the burdened, and the outcast, by the preaching and practice of love, that Christianity turned the strong, sterile world into a fruitful field; where no other religion could sow and reap this religion was enabled to scatter its seed

¹ *Anthony Benezet*, by Robert Vaux, 1817, revised in 1859.

and to secure a harvest." This work, be it remembered, was largely accomplished by means of "informal missionaries, amongst whom women played a leading rôle." This being so, it is evident that to garner the material fruits of such spiritual husbandry we must turn to social, rather than to theological histories.

There is, then, no incongruity in passing on to an economic historian like R. E. Prothero, who assures us that it was mainly the influence of the religious orders in the Middle Ages which built roads and bridges, and improved live stock and husbandry generally. Professor Rogers explains that for similar reasons, if for no other, the Quakers were one of the most important of the new sects of the Reformation. They became, he says, the most enterprising of farmers, and had not a little to do with the success of the new agriculture in the eighteenth century. "Some of the best reports in Young's collection are their work." He attributes their comparatively recent passing from the land to the towns to their stand against tithes ; but game preserving and political pressure have both proved inimical to enterprise and independence in English agriculture.

One of the proofs of Professor Rogers's state-

ments may be found in the case of John Ellis, M.P. for Leicester. He came of a line of Quaker farmers, and was the first to introduce winter root crops into his district. Consequently he had fat sheep in the early spring, in place of the usual salted meat of winter fare. He subsequently engaged Stephenson's help for the construction of the first railway south of the Trent, as the Peases had previously done for their pioneer railway work in the north.

Such men and many less gifted quietly helped to raise the standard of life in their respective neighbourhoods. It is to be regretted that their type of character has so largely passed away from the villages. The writer recalls in his school days the tall spare figure of a venerable Friend who regularly attended Yorkshire Quarterly Meetings. It was evident that he lived in the wholesome deliberate air of the country. His Quaker garb was spotlessly neat. His face spoke of indwelling light and peace with all mankind. When words came they were few and weighty. It is told how he would drive fourteen miles to a Friends' Meeting to worship. On one such occasion he rose, and said, "God is love," and then sat down again. It is believed no listener forgot that sermon.

He and his family were known to be of the salt of the earth ; but what could a plain tenant farmer accomplish in a small village aloof from the life of the world ? At the time when he settled in it, several of the houses were in an insanitary condition ; the labourers had no gardens to speak of, the children had no school, but there was a public house for the parents. When at fourscore years his cail came to go up higher, he left a village where every cottage was a healthy home, where all able bodied labourers wishing for an allotment could have one. The public house had gone, and a good village school had been established. For many years the school-mistress had lived in his house. A Bible Society anniversary in his big barn was the annual festival and Eirenicon of the district. It may fairly be said that the whole neighbourhood was slowly uplifted by the coming of one quiet life into its midst. When he died Dr. Vaughan preached a funeral sermon in the parish church of Doncaster on his friend, William Dent, the Quaker tenant farmer of Marr.

To those acquainted with the records of the middle ages of the Society the small selection already made of the types of character which marked its quiet force may well appear invidious.

For instance, the Fothergills, springing from a secluded home at Semmer Water in Wensleydale, helped to spread the light of religion, of science, and of education both across the Atlantic and in the British Isles. John Howard in his monumental volumes on the prisons of Europe can hardly speak too warmly of his friend and colleague, Dr. Fothergill. He valued his advice on hygiene and on prison arrangements so highly that he refused to act as a supervisor of the new penitentiaries, unless Dr. Fothergill was associated with him in the work. On the Doctor's death Howard retired from the appointment.

In the *Edinburgh Review* of 1814 (under the alluring title of "Mad Quakers"), as also in all histories of advance in medical science and of the merciful treatment of mental disease may be found the story of the new departure instituted in Great Britain by the Quaker tea-dealer, William Tuke, of York, and his gifted descendants, with the help of the Society generally. Sydney Smith wrote, "The Quakers always seem to succeed in any institution which they undertake." The gaol at Philadelphia will remain a lasting monument of their skill and patience; and in the plan and conduct of this

Retreat for the Insane in York they have evinced the same wisdom and perseverance. We have little doubt that this is the best managed asylum for the insane that has ever yet been established."

The same reviewer in the same review had in 1806 written of Lancaster as a Quaker who had given to the world new and striking light upon the subject of education, and thereby "spread order, knowledge, and innocence among the lowest of mankind." But enough has been said to indicate that social service held the same place relatively in the middle ages of the Society as at its rise. It was felt to be the essential outcome and evidence of a Christian life.

In the community we are dealing with religion and science have lived quietly together, it may almost be said, unconscious of any friction. They have indeed been constantly united from schooldays to old age in bonds of peace. Shut out of the universities, and shy of art, Friends gave a free rein to their love of nature. A certain habit of reverent dependence on the "Source and Centre of all minds" has linked with it freedom of outlook and independence of judgment and of action, so far as the ordinary currents of public opinion have been

concerned. A patient investigator could no doubt show that the proportion of Friends, who, from John Dalton and Lord Lister downwards, have left their mark in science, in inventions, in commerce and leading industries, in the founding of railways, etc., has been above the average, and that yet at the same time the reign of competitive strife with its barbarities and many disadvantages has often been mitigated by their regard for the spirit of equity, so strongly insisted on by the first leaders of the Society. Very recently a pacificator from the Board of Trade was sent for to end a calamitous dispute between employers and employed in a town in the North of England. He found that with one large business house he could arrange terms which seemed to promise a solution, but on putting these terms before others, was met with the reply that the firm already approached was a Quaker firm, and therefore not to be taken as an ordinary standard in times of drastic competition.

RENAISSANCE.

The last century brought new pulsations of evangelical religion to the Society of Friends as to the other Churches of England, and a revival

of Bible study which was sorely needed. The times, too, brought changes in the position allotted to the claims of social service, which are still to some extent in course of transition. If the records of the business meetings of the Society were appealed to, they would indicate a certain stiffening or recession from the freedom with which all kinds of ameliorative social matters were dealt with in the early days. They would still show relief to the poor, and grants in aid of education at the Schools of the Society and elsewhere. There would also be queries and advices read regularly as to faithfulness to the witness of Christianity against war and intemperance, with appeals for active efforts in spreading the Redeemer's kingdom; but little that was specific and practical would be found minuted by way of reply. Yet the tide has been rising once more outside any stereotyped channels. With municipal reform and the abolition of tests Friends became active in local government and poor law relief. They addressed themselves with renewed vitality to foreign and home mission work, and struck out a new line of vigorous endeavour in the Adult School Movement. All these efforts grew up alongside the official organization, in friendly

alliance indeed, but not under tutelage. Probably the Society lost something by the absence of closer relationship, whilst the new activities gained at their outset in elasticity and power of adaptation.

At its rise Quakerism was essentially a Home Mission Society in itself. A generation ago the special claims of East London led to organised work there, and in 1882 a large Committee was appointed by the Society to assist in this and similar efforts up and down the land. It has recently been strengthened by the junction of a Young Friends Sub-Committee. Small meetings are visited by groups of sympathetic "trampers," and extension work is encouraged in various ways.

Fox in his time exhorted Friends "to be faithful and spread the truth abroad . . . in the nations and islands." And this has often been done by individuals at the charges of the community. In 1859 an appeal from an aged friend, George Richardson, led to the forming of a Foreign Mission Association, which assists a large band of Friends scattered in Madagascar, India, Syria, China and Pemba. There is also a Friends' Mission at Constantinople. Whilst presenting Christianity with little of Western ecclesiasticism, it is said that the Quaker

influence has tended to unity in the mission work carried on in Madagascar, China, and Syria more especially.¹

Adult Schools, as known to the two last generations, grew up from new beginnings in Birmingham at the instance of Joseph Sturge, shepherded into abounding life more especially by the untiring devotion of William White, and many other Friends in that city. The basis was a Scripture class on co-operative lines, with great freedom of development for the physical, mental and spiritual up-building of the members, according to local needs and possibilities. They spread throughout the whole country wherever there was a live Friends' Meeting, and enlisted active thought and joint effort between some who had received a good education, and very many toilers to whom the world had given few or no advantages in the battle of life. The gain to both sides was often very great. Women's schools were added in time, and have proved most serviceable in enlarging the outlook of the housewife beyond her daily drudgery. The necessity for elementary classes for reading and writing having passed away with the spread

¹ The Edinburgh Commission reported "a very exceptional degree of democracy" in the Friends' work. II., p. 28.

of elementary education, lecturettes on all kinds of useful subjects have largely taken their place. At the commencement the schools were often more distinctively missionary in their character than is now the case. They have since been planted by many fine workers in localities outside any Quaker organization ; and the whole movement has been placed under the direction of a National Council elected by the schools, without any sectional colouring. Their trend at present is towards greater educational facilities ; week-end lecture schools have become frequent ; the yearly handbook for the Bible lessons has been raised to a high standard of scholarship, and the monthly organ, *One and All*, is maintained at a good level of information and suggestiveness. In addition, a Collegiate Settlement has been instituted at " Fircroft," Birmingham, with artizan students in residence, and Educational Settlements for day and evening classes are in active work at Swarthmore, Leeds, and St. Mary's in York. The large co-operative holiday gatherings commenced in Yorkshire fifteen years ago have become acclimatized in various counties of England ; and under the auspices of the National Council peace pioneering parties of Adult School members to Germany, and of

German working men to England, have been carried through to the delight and advantage, not only of the hundreds who have crossed over from both sides of the North Sea, but of very many of the hosts and hostesses, officials, and friends who have generously assisted in making the occasion a happy success. A Bürgermeister, who with his party was keenly interested in listening to the Bible lessons in an English Adult School, said on leaving, "We have nothing like this in Germany. Our appeal is to the head, you make yours primarily to the heart. We must learn from you in this." Permanent Guest Houses at Scalby, at Uffculme, and since at Jordans, have grown up out of the holiday gatherings, and their attractive facilities for recreative rest and for conference purposes are felt to be invaluable in supplying a very real want of the day—the opportunity of assimilating all sorts and conditions of people in the harmony of the higher thought and purposes of life.

Many interesting problems lie before this important national movement. Along with the Workers' Educational Association, it is developing valuable scholastic methods and facilities. May it also grow and strengthen in its power of reaching and recovering wasted lives from the

submerged sections of society; and continue ever to enlist devoted workers ready to equip themselves in the best way for general service by taking a personal part in the Adult education of the people.

Attention has been called to an interesting account just published of "Retreats for the people," in the Roman Catholic Church. It can only be alluded here to by citing two passages bearing on the subject immediately under consideration. The Bishop of Salford in a preface to the book writes, "It has been said that in the history of the Church the twentieth century will eventually be known as the century of the laity," and he shows that it is by the deepening of the spiritual life, and the application of religious principles to everyday practice, that Christian lay men and women will be enabled to play their part great and small in saving the world around them. All Christians may gladly share this thought in common.

Mr. C. F. G. Masterman is there quoted as saying, "A background to life—some common bond uniting, despite the discordance of the competitive struggle—some worthy object of enthusiasm or devotion behind the aimless passing of the years—some spiritual force or

ideal elevated above the shabby scene of temporary failure—this is the deep imperative need of the masses in our great cities to-day.”

Fourteen years ago a young apostle of Quakerism, J. Wilhelm Rowntree, urged that the consecration of intellectual gifts should be added to that of the heart; and that to maintain a free ministry among busy men, a permanent Summer or Bible School should be established, open to either sex and to persons of any age. Through the generosity of G. and E. M. Cadbury, the Woodbrooke Settlement was commenced for religious and social study in 1903. With Dr. Rendel Harris as Director of Studies, it has drawn students from America, Australasia, Holland, Norway, and other lands. This family of many nationalities engaged in various studies and services averages some fifty persons. A sanctuary and fellowship for thought and study,—it has prospered greatly. It has also become the centre of many kindred institutions for missionary and educational purposes at Selly Oak, Birmingham.

In noting the free and elastic vigour of the more recent forms of activity springing up outside the official body of the Society of Friends, it should be said that in almost all cases, except

in the central organization of the Adult Schools, these have drawn nearer together as the years have passed, and many report now annually to the Society.

One of the most urgent problems presented by the new conditions of social service is, how to renew the sense of what should be to us all the essential oneness of life, so that we may see it clearly as a whole. This secret, as already pointed out, explains much of the power of early Quakerism. It has now to be restored to its rightful supremacy, together with an added capacity for utilizing the multiplicity of modern discoveries in the material plane of existence. Knowledge has indeed come like a flood to the present generation, but the wisdom to adjust it to the greater and more mysterious purposes of life often lingers. Already, however, as previously indicated, the newer science and the most recent philosophies point to unseen centralizing forces and harmonies at one time undreamed of; and it looks as if the best of human thought is beginning again to find its strongest attractions round the centre rather than the circumference.

The analogy of the prism has been used, with its fascinating analysis of a ray of light into

diversities of bands and colours ; all the varieties of hue have their distinct values, but the world would be the poorer if through the charm of their discovery the fullest value of the complete white ray suffered any eclipse.

ONLOOKERS.

Before turning away altogether from the past it may be permissible to offer a summing up of the survey by specialists, writing as depolarised students of Quaker Life.

In 1895, the German publicist, E. Bernstein, now a representative of the Social Democratic party in the Reichstag, wrote some chapters dealing with the rise of Quakerism for a standard history of Socialism. They are marked, as might be expected, by conspicuous ability, and by thoroughness of treatment for the purpose for which they were written. Their author was not bound to give his attention to the religious springs of Quaker life. He speaks of some of its fruit, rather than of the tree itself, or the sources of its vitality.

Herr Bernstein traces Quakerism back to the Baptist and Pietist communities of Germany. Their inspiration, he thinks, was transferred to England through Winstanley and other ethical

and political reformers. Winstanley and Lilburne failed in their socialistic undertaking on the land, and became Quakers !—never doubting the rightness of their way. They found that politics are not the real means of improving the general public ; that a beginning has to be made with its morals, and that new morals have to be taught. The morals of the Quakers, the author avers, are the morals of communism. Their religious garment was largely a cloak for their communistic tendencies. This suggestion is put forward in no hostile spirit, for the writer at once adds, that what at first had been a cloak became the principal formative of their faith.

Leaving ideas dangerous to the State, they gradually became model citizens. They were, he says, the ethical socialists of the epoch—so much so, that the historian of Socialism may pass by all the other sects of the Revolution without notice. He admits very candidly that Quaker literature offers no expression of communistic tendencies, but suspects that there *was more beneath than appears on the surface. The Quakers dealt with the economic side of life, they attempted the centralization of education. They helped Robert Owen by advancing

capital to carry forward his experiment. They produced in John Bellers an exponent who put many of their ideas into shape, and made them practical. To him, twenty-five pages are devoted, forming the best digest of his publications that is to be found. Apart from the startling supposition that a communistic key unlocks all its mysteries, Herr Bernstein pays a high and generous tribute to the Society of Friends, as forming an important link in the historic amelioration of the social customs and conditions of Christendom.¹

In 1912, a compact volume by Dietrich von Dobbeler appeared on "The Social Economics of Philanthropy, as illustrated by the Example of the Society of Friends." This ably written book deals with the Society as a whole. The author's preface states the motives of his study, which may be roughly rendered into English as follows: "Social politics have become perhaps the most important part of interior or domestic politics. There is a growing zeal for them in Parliament, in municipal administration and in private life. Much is being said of Christ as a Social Reformer, and as to how far a Christian ought to enter into and uplift social politics.

¹ *Die Geschichte des Sozialismus*, 2 vols., 1895.

It is evidently then to the point to look into the life and activity, especially the social-political activity of a Society, that has made it its special aim to put Christian doctrine and spirit into practice for the solution of social questions in modern times. This activity of the Quakers shows us unassuming but constant and undaunted progression, and we find the cause of this phenomenon in their teaching. The latter expresses most distinctly the thought of every individual being responsible to God, not only for himself but for his neighbour. This fundamental principle has induced the Society to take a prominent part in all works of Christian charity, and so to become one of the principal agents in the social political education of the English nation. They put into practice the ideal of Luther's Reformation—that of a universal priesthood, which leads naturally to the practice of Christian charity in the social conditions around us." Herr von Dobbeler continues: "The great importance they [the Quakers] attach to the voice of conscience as the secret revelation of God has brought about their simple way of living, their temperance, honesty, and practical way of performing the duties of life. They view the earning of money as a means of

honouring God in their work of life—a radically opposite view to that of Christian ethics before the Reformation! They are anxious to help the poor so as not to make them lose the feeling of independence. They have accomplished a great work in what may be called social reconciliation, in drawing rich and poor nearer together by a spiritual bridge.” “Two hundred years ago, they proposed making hygiene a national question, which is quite a modern thought even in our day.” The author cites William Allen’s Home Colony as the prototype of the Workmen’s Colonies in Germany, and he links on the Rhenish Westphalian Prison Society (which has exercised a great influence on German Social legislation) to the fundamental principles of the English Quaker Reformers. He continues, “Parliamentary measures are unable to change the hearts of men—salutary and really efficient reforms are only brought about by the enthusiastic devotion of individuals to an idea which at the beginning takes hold of a few. They act as precursors for the many, and their example gradually draws on the masses of the people.” A warm acknowledgment is paid to William Tuke, as the founder of the general reform of asylums in England, spreading in our

day under Theophilus Waldmeier to similar reforms in the Orient.

The latest German critic is Dr. Auguste Jorns. In her "Studies in the Social Politics of the Quakers," she quotes from Robert Barclay the saying, "Good works come as naturally from the birth of Christ in us as heat comes from fire." She finds the source of Quaker activity in their recognition of every human soul as possessing a value beyond that of mere personality. "They began to try to remedy the misery around by endowing all their members with the duties of a general priesthood." She sympathetically urges that "This makes one look quite differently on those who are socially, intellectually, and even morally, on a low level. It is not for the more favoured to make the less favoured subservient to their own aims. In consequence a living wage, feared by commercial classes in the past, is now asked for as alone worthy of a human being. By encouraging the needy to help themselves, by improving the mind and morals, the Quakers did much to found the social politics of modern times. They had to wake up the English nation to its social obligations, when the State occupied itself only with political matters. John Bright and Joseph Sturge promoted Free

Trade, especially from a moral and religious sense of its importance.

“Quakers,” she adds, ‘recoil from nothing when it is a question of saving human souls. For many years they fought against the State protection of vice, the greatest crime of Christianity. They seem to have the special mission of strengthening the general feeling of social responsibility,” but are, the authoress believes, as yet only standing on the threshold of all that might be done, if everyone were to know and fulfil his duty.

QUALIFICATIONS.

This is not a study of Quaker history at large, it is only a presentation of one of the chains of cause and effect which that history discloses. But the general impression may easily mislead an onlooker if no place is given to lessons of failure as well as of victory. Speaking broadly, there is no evidence that any of the principles of Fox and his comrades have failed: on the contrary Canon Curteis is probably right in saying that these men were able with “the most extraordinary success to infuse them into the very veins of the modern world.” May it be urged then,

¹ *Dissent, in its Relation to the Church of England*, Lecture V.

that their example is not encouraging to other bodies ; as the Society itself for at least a century dwindled, and has only been growing again slowly but steadily, for the last generation ? The whole subject is too wide to be dealt with here at any length. Is not the answer briefly this : suppose it were true that a comparatively small community had given of its strength to humanity, and perished in so doing, ought that to deter others from doing the same ? The tide advances by waves that spend themselves. " It was the way the Master went—shall not the servant tread it still ? " When studied at all carefully, however, the warnings of Quaker history seem to be all in the contrary direction. Its religious progress was arrested, not by its efforts for others, but by an excess of passivity within. When the first enthusiasm was over, the stress that had been laid on the indwelling light brought with it the temptation to belittle the extent to which human co-operation is called for. " Waiting " alone is insufficient ; there must be a hungering and thirsting after rightness of life. The receiver of the wireless message of the Spirit must cultivate a hearing ear, must prepare himself both mentally and morally to be its efficient recipient and instrument.

As persecution gave place to prosperity, the call to vigorous vitality was but faintly heard. The early hopes of rekindling the life of Christendom faded and the fear of losing something precious which had been gained began to prevail instead. Aggressive courage gave way to caution (along with tenacity), and a goodly heritage was too often treated as something to be cherished, rather than shared. The outside world was justified in its criticism that the open fires of the early days, which had both attracted and alarmed many persons, had been exchanged for the uninspiring warmth of the shut-in stove.

One object lesson may suffice to give point to the moral. To save their marriages from the intervention of the Priest, the Friends devised a procedure of their own which received the authority of the law. This procedure, excellent in its simplicity, equality and impressiveness, might well have been left to prevail on its own merits. But it soon came to be enforced as a law of restraint, and "marrying out," which might be the best act of a lifetime, became a reason for severing religious fellowship. Samuel Tuke's lament more than a century later, "the idol of uniformity has been the Moloch of the

Christian Churches," includes, alas, in its condemnation, the very people who rose up to battle valiantly for individual light and liberty. It has been estimated that forty per cent. of the Friends lost their membership from this one cause before the fatal policy was abandoned.

THE SEQUENCE.

He who runs may read the sequence of cause and effect in the Social Service of the Friends. The great awakening to a new and vivifying relationship between the Divine Spirit and the spirit of man which Jesus brought into the world has been oft clouded and hidden by man's imperfect methods of responding to it. He has treated it as something too sacred for daily in-breathing—too precious to be committed to the custody of wayfaring mortals. Church ceilings have too often been used, as Froude said, "to imitate and shut out the sky." But the seed of the great Kingdom kept on ever germinating, first in one part of Christendom, and then in another, and saintly lives handed on the lighted torch of direct religious experience from one generation to the next. The Reformation, at the price of some storm and loss, recovered much liberty for the soul, and directness of access to

the Supreme. The Bible was brought out from its safe keeping in monastic cells and secluded libraries, and read once more in the open air and sunshine. This truth and that were seized upon and fortified by entrenchments of texts, and defended by eager disputants. It was given to Friends as a people to centre themselves on one foundation Truth, too often overlooked by the contending forces, *viz.*, that whosoever would know the Scriptures aright must become a learner and recipient of the Spirit which gave them forth. Jesus had said to the Hebrew theologians, "Ye search the Scriptures," yet "ye will not come to Me that ye may have life." To possess the letter is more easy to us all than to seek daily for a share in the spirit of the Christ-life. The early Friends, with many failings and shortcomings, strove for this attainment, and were not disappointed. Their Christianity rooted itself in a "transformed consciousness." In the records of the life of Jesus they found no stress laid on holy days, on ritual, or on sacred buildings, but much on good tidings to the poor, on release of captives, healing to the sick, sight to the blind, liberty to the down-trodden, and on a coming kingdom of harmony and a reign of love. This clearly involved a sharing of Christ's service

amongst men, if the worship and lives of His followers were to be worthy of their Head.

Their Social Service for humanity was then an unpremeditated and harmonious outcome of Spirit force within. The two waxed and waned together. One was not at the expense of the other. Speaking generally, the chief evangelists for the soul were the chief town planners for its healthy environment. Their faith required it. They sought the Lord in His suffering children—in temples not made with hands. The inner greatness of Rome, according to Mr. Warde Fowler, grew up round the *Atrium*, at once the altar and the hearthstone of its home life. Comparing small things with large, it may be said that the power of the early Friends sprang into being with the incoming of the Spirit into the heart of each individual who would receive it. This was to them “the life indeed,” and they gave all their strength to foster it. Because it represented man at his highest worth, it followed without any arguing that all human life should be revered as capable of the highest distinction; that his treatment and surroundings, however modest, should be wholesome, free, and worthy of the potential children of the Supreme.

Social engineering on a large scale opens out

vistas of promise in many ways for the betterment of man, but Fox's plea, "that no creature be lost for want of caretakers," strikes a true and much needed note yet for every one of us to begin with. It will be well indeed to find such caretakers, and to revert more closely to the ideals and activities of the early Christians so charmingly presented by the Epistle to Diognetus, and by the researches of Dr. Hatch. May not a world suspicious of outward authority on matters of religion respond anew to homelier centres of united worship, charged with more of the actuality of kindly fellowship, and of the mysterious drawings of co-operative spiritual search?

Disguise it as we may, the hard and fast line drawn by English society in general, between the man who toils with his hands, the retail tradesman, and the professional person living on investments, is a contradiction to the teaching and example of Christ, and must fall to the ground if they are to prevail. In the House of Commons and Universities a man takes the place his character and attainments entitle him to. So far as the Churches fall below any such standard, so far they acknowledge themselves to be unworthy followers of their Founder. One of the lessons

of early Quakerism is the fearlessness and catholicity of its services, without respect of persons; whilst its successors in the age of Quietism frequently found an open door for their ministries amongst the Royalties of Europe. It is to be feared the thought of social service now is largely restricted, like the use of dispensaries, to one class only. The bravest and most helpful application may be to those who grow up under the temptations of ease and affluence. But above all, the fellowship that must become a power if the Churches are to be effective for the spread of the Kingdom that they pray for, is that which can honestly say, "and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ."

Politics have been said to be a never-ending pursuit of the second best. If this satisfies those who are anxious to advance the progress of mankind the actual results are likely to be lower still. The men and the women we have briefly glanced at were intent on serving the highest as they knew it; and therefore they became fearless pioneers for others.¹ For what (they said) is a King, a Parliament, a Protector,

¹ Edward Burrough, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 467.

a Council, while the presence of the Lord is not with them? "We are not" (as they stoutly declared) "for names, nor men, nor titles of government; but for justice, mercy, truth, and peace; for unity with God and one another, that these may abound." In the political world, as in the religious, the danger is ever present, that the prophet perish before the priest, the statesman before the administrator, the greater voice and wider vision before the less, and principles before opportunism. Reform of outward conditions is earnestly to be desired and striven for, but a transformation of the aim and spirit of modern society, with its demoralising worship of wealth and of force, can alone secure it from a decadence not unlike that of Greece and Rome. A new inspiration with the fire and faith and moral courage of the religion of Jesus will assuredly carry mankind onward and upward, and social reform in the future as in the past will follow man's spiritual awakening.

"Whate'er thou lovest, man,
Become thou must;
God, if thou lovest God,
Dust, if thou lovest dust."

However it is to be accounted for, the life that came from the hills and lake-side of Galilee brought in a new and kindly relationship which

overpassed barriers of race and clime ; it implanted new hopes of freedom, and new gladness of service ; it raised the status of woman, the dignity of labour, and the supremacy of love to those who were willing to receive it.

Its leaven is working strongly in mankind, though it may be but faintly visible in the churches. A renaissance of altruistic labour is looming clearly before us.

The world has still to realize that the breath of the Spirit bloweth where it listeth. Somehow it by no means follows that the outward successions of links appointed by colleges, courts, or bishops, have always proved to be transmitters of spiritual grace—it is beginning, however, to note that the fuller life may, and often does, spring up in quarters where hierarchical authorities would be little likely to look for it.

Can anything be more depressing, for instance, to a modern pilgrim, than to go to the Duomo in Florence, hoping to realize some savour of the presence of Savonarola, the mediæval martyr of social and municipal service, and to find there a circle of good men shielded from draughts by glass screens, and handing snuff-boxes round, presumably to keep themselves awake as they chaunt ?

On the other hand, the pilgrim might possibly be permitted to visit one of the great prisons of England, and see in a large gathering of men flickers of light, more than merely mental, play upon keen, wistful faces, as they listen to a homely address from a young Adult School teacher. The contrast between the two buildings is less striking than the difference between the animating spirit to be felt in each.

Let us grant gladly that there were lovely and grand Christian souls in the convent and monastic cells in days of old ; but would any of us, fresh from the study of the earthly life of Him whom they worshipped, think them closer akin to that Life than are working men of to-day, who take ex-convicts on their release from the cells to their own homes, and treat them at once as members of their families ? One Adult School reports that two such ex-prisoners have now set up a house of their own, in order themselves to take in fresh " cases."

It may be said that the world has got beyond the stage of voluntaryism in social service. It must now be handed over to the legislature, and enforced by the State. No doubt steam rollers are invaluable for certain purposes, but where you are dealing with the higher needs of the

mysterious compounds of body, soul, and spirit,—the growth of character in the most sensitive organisms of creation,—their usefulness may easily be overestimated. Life only proceeds from life. Law never creates ; but it can do much to hold and maintain that which has been once created or reclaimed. Even there it is subject to limitations. The saying already quoted, “ the Churches have ever made a Moloch of uniformity,” may warn us also against the danger of the State following suit in this respect. Such a process, if carried far, may prove to be as deadening to the civil life of a people as the enforcement of ecclesiastical uniformity was to their religious life in the past. By all means let the ground upon which humanity builds and lives and rears its young be made as sanitary and secure as possible ; but let the gardens of the soul and the fruits of the spirit rejoice in a liberty and guidance above and beyond the control of civil engineers, and the shaping even of the best town Councils.

Take education, for instance, Friends are free now from the oversight and upkeep of the British or Lancasterian schools and girls’ schools of industry, which formerly rested heavily upon them ; but does not every one who makes the

mental contrast feel that the fine town schools that have taken their place leave much that is lacking—that the old individualistic teaching often somehow brought out more character, and implanted more zest for self-improvement than the modern platoons and standards, where so little of the play and touch of personality may be found?

The soul of the democracy, as it grows up year by year, will thrive more vigorously as ideals of a higher life and the glow of ardent fellowship leads its activities upward to get richer achievements than the results of examination papers. After a Summer School it is often said that excellent as were the lectures, the stimulus of companionship of soul experienced throughout the gatherings was more valuable still. The benefactions of the Settlements at Woodbrooke and Fircroft, at Bournville, Swarthmore at Leeds, and St. Mary's at York, find their truest value in the drawing out of that which is best in the students, in response to the personal sympathy and high purpose which leavens the daily work.

The Social Service of to-day may not require the fortitude of our forerunners, but it must show an equal grasp of principles and thoroughness

of application to be worthy of the past. The economists of the last century failed to give the human factor its proper place. Much study may still be thrown away if the ethical and spiritual life of man are not kept in the ascendant—even in considering rates of wages, or questions of tariff reform. All enlargements of the circle of man's life bring their fresh difficulties. As Chalmers put it, "the greater the circle of light, the greater will be the circle of darkness to be combatted." The early Friends worked ever from the centre of life to the circumference. Their work came out splendidly true, and it was never shallow. As it was truly said a year ago at Manchester, "The prospect of the Society of Friends giving any effective help in remedying existing evils in our industrial system depends upon the maintenance of a deep religious faith; and in this connection it is of supreme importance that all our Meetings for Worship should be aglow with a spirit of true communion with God."

CONFIRMATIONS.

This address may reach some readers who esteem the Society of which it treats for its philanthropy, but do not regard it as entitled

to speak from the position of a Church. This will not discomfort its members so long as they have reason to hope that it is still a fruit-bearing branch of the true Vine of man's higher life ; but such an exclusive thought is to be regretted if it tends in any way to excuse any ecclesia from a fuller recognition of the service it should render to its neighbours. May it not be truly said that each generation of students points us with increasing clearness to a unity of spirit, instead of to a uniformity of fold, as the way to the attainment of that oneness for which Christ prayed ? Canon Purcell tells how one of the last statements left on record by the late Cardinal Manning is an ungrudging testimony to the holiness of life, the singleness and simplicity of heart, and the love of the Scriptures of so many of his " separated brethren." He contrasted their lives and labour for social and philanthropic reforms with the comparative indifference of multitudes of Catholics, in spite of the grace of the Sacraments.

It can hardly be irrelevant in closing to refer to two remarkable biographies which have recently appeared, as confirmatory of this position. They will serve, moreover, a double purpose if, whilst strengthening the main conclusions

contended for in this essay, they serve to guard it against any unhealthy self-centring in these grave matters. The greatest Statesman Missionary the world has ever known warned his followers against "measuring themselves by themselves" as a process "without understanding."

In the biography of George Tyrrell¹ the world has had given to it a life of extraordinary intensity spent in the quest of that holiness which the authority of historical succession, far-reaching power, and accumulated wealth of association and of resources thinks it is best able to bestow.

Gifted with the keenest of minds and with ardent religious longings, Tyrrell joined the Jesuits, only to realize that relatively to the need of to-day the order had become, as he thought, reactionary and worldly, rather than progressive and spiritual. He went through a martyrdom of mind and body. He began to long for unpaid, volunteer ministrations as in the day of early Christianity, before Church life had been separated from civil life "to the great detriment," as he says, "of both." He discovered that those

¹ *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell*, by M. D. Petrie.

for whom Christ is a living, indwelling Spirit, a fire kindling from soul to soul down the long centuries, who see the expression of that Spirit not merely in the mortal life and thoughts of the Galilean Carpenter, but in those of His followers who have been possessed by the spiritual and eternal personality of Jesus, need have no trouble in the face of modern criticism. He came to confess that the idea of Jesus as the Divine indwelling and saving Spirit "seems to me the very essence of Divinity." Faith in Christ never meant merely "faith in a Teacher and His doctrine, but an apprehension of His personality as revealing itself within us."

"I am not a Quaker," he wrote, "but I feel that each man should aim at an increasing independence of external aids. The religion of all men must be the religion of the whole man. He, Christ, was the Spirit itself in human form. He is Lord and Saviour only in so far as He rises and lives again in the hearts of those who enter the current of Spiritual life, of which he is the exhaustless Spring and the perpetual Giver." Tyrrell protested equally against the individualism of anarchy and that of dictatorship; substituting for this the oneness which Christ

¹ *Autobiography of George Tyrrell*, p. 413.

desired for His Church, and which was to be the note of her truth and authority—an agreement of individual minds “ that they all may be one.”

At the same time, another life of equal consecration, to the Son of Man rather than to the service of the Altar, is to be found in the biography of Margaret E. Macdonald.¹ The symmetry of life came to her to a great extent outside the Churches, yet never far away from the Communion table. She appropriated the title of Presbyterian Quaker, as combining birthright associations with some special secret of the soul in the latter. The secret was the discovery by our forerunners of the difference between admiring and professing Christianity on the one hand, and “ putting ourselves under the Divine influence hour by hour ” on the other. (May this truth be recovered as effectually by all bearing the name of Friends as it was by Mrs. Macdonald.) She felt keenly the responsibility—the ineffectiveness “ of doing, without first being.” She was severely practical. A blue book with its compression of human facts was setond in rank of sacredness only to the Gospels. “ We women,” she said, “ must work for a

¹ *Margaret Ethel Macdonald*, by J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P.

world where little children will not needlessly die. In the present conditions of the housing question there are hundreds and thousands of little children growing up in places where no flower could bloom. I want houses for souls, as well as bodies." She never swerved before public opinion, or any tyrant of the day. She braved the horrors of public-house visitation for the sake of the barmaids—of the never-ending procession of young, innocent girls, engaged to provide attractiveness for a perilous, unattractive trade. She had something of the power of Elizabeth Fry, of those who share in the Spirit of the Master of all social service. As one of her disciples put it, "she believed in us all, and so she could make diamonds out of dust." Such lives, sinking under the burden of the world's needs, may fitly remind us of others freely given for the sake of suffering humanity in the persecutions of bygone days.

Geographically, mankind are being rapidly brought nearer together, but Social advance alone is apt to bring discords with it. A "white" Australia erects a ring fence against its "yellow" neighbours. California and British Columbia do much the same. Where is unity to come from? A vision of it fairer than the world has

seen for long was presented at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference, and already it has led to joint educational work in China, with the happiest results. Sooner than men think the life of Christian activity may triumph over its forms, at home as well as abroad.

CONCLUSION.

The retrospect here attempted suggests that the value of the Social Service of a Christian community is chiefly measurable in its essence as an inner force, as part of the whole life of the body, not to be weighed in any visible scales for registration purposes. Tracing it back for a moment to its source, we may ask: what is the example set by Jesus to His followers in those three short years of active life which,—according to the historian of “European Morals,”—“have done more to regenerate and to soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers, and all the exhortations of moralists.” Can we differentiate between the thought and energy then given to the varying needs of humanity around Him? Take the record of Mark, and note how the terse references to the teaching and preaching of the glad tidings of the Kingdom intermingle with the

incidents of healing, the feeding of the multitudes, etc. Does not the inference stand forth plainly, that as there was no apparent distinction in the outward flow of Christ's life to humanity as between the Sabbath and any other day, so His active ministry to man was one, whether manifested in the Sermon on the Mount, in the healing of Mary Magdalene, or in dining with publicans at the home of Levi ?

Is not the summing up of it all to be seen in the latter portion of the Gospel of John ?¹ The writer there passes on from the illumination which marks his book as a whole to the closest unity attainable with the Life which began as the Light of the world, and ended in "the consummation of Love." This final ascent of spiritual realization begins, be it noted, with the washing of the disciples' feet, and leads up to the unconditional sharing of the Divine Love. So, from the lowliest services man is invited to a filial relationship with the Power that rules the universe.

The Twelve evidently learned the lesson slowly. How else but by the painful experience of many halts and stumbles can the minds and

¹ The writer owes much to *The Mystic Way*, by Evelyn Underhill, chapter iv.

reasonings of ordinary mortals assimilate the incoming of any Divine transcendence into the mentality with which they start? The words of very natural excuse for the friction between Grecians and Hebrews at the common meals suggest a temporary forgetfulness of the great saying, "Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth . . . but I am among you as He that serveth." The context makes one wonder whether many of the Twelve were on any higher plane of action at the time than Stephen or Philip!

No one that we know of came to grasp the unity of life brought in by Christianity so completely as did the Apostle Paul. He used his three citizenships, as a Hebrew, in the Greek city of Tarsus, and as a free-born Roman, as stepping stones to the citizenship of that Kingdom which he found experimentally to be righteousness, peace, and joy in the new life he had entered,—a final franchise, the most real and abiding. Yet he besought his converts to let their lesser citizenships be worthy of the greater one to which they were called. With ever-increasing emphasis he taught that all mankind is free to grow into the fuller life, the higher consciousness of the Divine calling.

All these indications of a newness of vitality actually possessed and rejoiced over, help us to understand the better how the early Friends came to the front in some of their religious experiences, with limitations, truly, and yet as pioneers still. The grand pronouncement of early Christendom, "He opened the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers," becomes yet richer and more potent as it embraces the less with the greater, the ministries of the lower kingdoms with those of the higher. Moses, with his tribes of escaped slaves before him, could yet long "that all the Lord's people were prophets." In the light of the new covenant, a trained Jewish mind realized that the time for the exercise of religion by deputy was ended in the fulfilment of the promise, "for all shall know Me, from the least to the greatest." And at the close of the Fourth Gospel comes the supreme inclusiveness, embracing alike diversities of sex, race, or condition, "that they also may be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me." This putting aside of any double standard of Christian levels, whether religious or secular, lay or clerical, or any other dualism, lies at the root of our contention, that Social Service is an integral part of the Christian life, and cannot be

separated without grave loss on either side. The writer may confess that the positive reality of the Christ-spirit in man was never brought home to him so overpoweringly as by a working bricklayer, who had "learned all that was bad before he learned anything that was good." He came to be in request as an artizan because his work underground was always found to be as trustworthy as his work in the light.

Endless, then, as are the diversities of gifts for service, a certain singleness of eye to catch the perspective and proportions of life as a whole, is an essential quality for high efficiency. We all know how character continually confronts us as a chief factor in progress, even in applied domestic economy. How in watching the training of children the thought keeps recurring—

"The mind has a thousand eyes,
And the heart but one;
But the light of the whole life dies
When love is done."

Far as we have travelled since the seventeenth century, a simplicity and singleness of purpose akin to that of the early Friends was never more needed than now.

Again, if our service to our fellows is to be social, it must be proved by fellowship. Without

this no study of text-books can make it really intelligent. Whoever would be most helpful must know personally of the realities of the lives to be helped. He may well find heroism in return, like a white arum lily rising up from a dark ditch in South Africa. Christendom has possibly to re-learn that the fellowships which brought a new springtime to western civilization prospered more abundantly when the new religion made its way through small groups and house gatherings, before it began to lose touch with the individual in large temples. James Chalmers, the missionary-martyr of New Guinea, used to say of his life's experiences amongst natives : " I have seen the semi-civilized and the uncivilized ; I have lived with the Christian, and lived, dined and slept with cannibal savages ; but I have never yet met with a single man or woman that civilization without Christianity has civilized." Does not this point to the fact that newness of life comes as a response to the inspiration of it from a possessor, rather than from an appeal to the mind only ? The Indian who told John Woolman he liked " to feel where words came from," voiced an almost universal thought.

Men of rare minds and attainments, like Isaac

Penington, the Barclays of Ury, Alexander Jaffray, Thomas Story and others, were drawn to and embraced the lot of a despised and persecuted people because they felt that a certain inward power beyond that of man was to be found in their fellowship; so men are still drawn by that which answers to their sense of need, and gives evidence of some power capable of prevailing over it.

This faith in a unifying power which shall yet prevail over the disintegrating forces of selfishness, jealousy, and fear, leads up to the last of the branches of social service which can be dealt with here.

It is now many years since Canon Curteis concluded one of his able Bampton Lectures¹ with the words:—"The Society [of Friends] has all but put down slavery; it is on its way, I hope, to put down war." The early Christians would, no doubt, have been greatly astonished if they could have foreseen that their successors of to-day had banned slavery, but lavished their best upon war. Of the twin evils the latter was indeed the more arrogant and destructive. The handing over of such a formidable crusade to the least of the denomi-

¹ *Bampton Lectures*, 1871, p. 255.

nations may be taken at any rate as a tribute to the courage of peacemakers. It cannot be seriously contended, however, that the overlordship of the State should put the historic Churches practically out of court on this stupendous question of conscience! John Bright and many another endured ostracism on account of their resistance to the Crimean war, but they kept their convictions and character intact. A Prime Minister subsequently discovered that Great Britain had made a mistake; had, as he phrased it, "put its money on the wrong horse" in that war. So Turkish rule was perpetuated over alien peoples, bringing evil and bloodshed abundantly, down to our day. Nothing has happened to indicate that Governments do not make mistakes still. The worst criminal condemned to death after a full trial has now the right to a judicial appeal. Remembering how the cruelties of war ever fall most heavily on the poorest and most innocent of its victims, it is surely a deep, dark blot on Christendom that every community should not have an appeal to a judicial tribunal secured to it whenever international differences arise. At present the prediction of the Greek philosopher :—

“ Then shall mankind become one vast disease,
When once it seeks its ills by ills to cure.”

seems to be in process of literal fulfilment in Europe. Who can think with satisfaction of boys by the hundred in British dominions prosecuted for refusing to train to kill; some visited with loss of civic rights on attaining manhood, others interned and treated by military methods unknown to the Constitution, presumably for the forcing of their wills.

Meanwhile the reign of fear and suspicion spreads with the spread of militarism over land and sea and sky, and soldiers threaten to become the sages rather than the servants of the State. Yet all the evidence points to the fact that the realities of war are more than ever repellent to modern scrutiny, and book after book on the conflicts in the East apologizes for its silence on the ground that the actualities are too repulsive to appear in print.

Ultimately there can be no concealment on this burning question. Even now there can be no uncertainty as to the call to those who would seek resolutely to “ turn their Christianity into the religion of Christ,”—who regard this matter, not as a question of texts or propositions, but

as a life to be lived—who seek to be governed by the thought—

“ Then to each He giveth
His own secret sign;
They that have My spirit,
These, saith He, are Mine.”

Two years ago our most able and judicial historian, the late Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, said in this place: ¹ “It seems to some of us, musing upon these things, and pondering on the future of the world, that Christianity must destroy war; if not, war will destroy Christianity.” This bequest of a vital thought adds to the measure of our responsibilities. It is the voice of another witness joined to those of many generations who have sought to see life as a whole, and to see its duties clearly. We who are bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh, may be suspected of partial affection; but we may gladly leave their labours to the tribunal of history. For two-and-a-half centuries a community, weak numerically, and long subject to not a few disabilities, has advocated and sought to practise a life which takes away the occasion of wars, and puts its trust in the supremacy of justice as the Divine call to men.

¹ *Human Progress and the Inward Light*. Thos. Hodgkin, D.C.L., p. 70.

Many of the first volunteers in this grave enterprise had fought in the civil wars, or under the banner of Gustavus Adolphus. When they changed their warfare, and quietly endured wounds and sufferings instead of inflicting them, there was no weakening in their courage, but rather an added growth of moral courage, the choicest strength of all. No one has suggested that the hereditary quest of peace has resulted in a weak type of character, or in any disinclination to serve localities, country, or mankind, for the good of all.

Dr. Hodgkin's words, then, come with the weight of accumulated evidence behind them.

It is deplorably true that war, in so far as it dominates men's minds with its miasma of distrust and suspicion, and deflects their energies and resources into channels for the purposes of mutual destruction, is taking the heart out of the Christian message to the peoples, and leaving the presentation of Christianity to loom largely in the exaltation of State ceremonies and strictly ecclesiastical functions.

Each year, with the growing interdependence of the peoples, the power of industrialism, and an increasing sense of the reality of the spirit-life in human affairs, the listlessness of official

religions in offering any check to the war spirit becomes more painfully apparent. Putting all labels to one side for the moment, the enthusiastic demand recently made by the Franco-German Socialists, "that all conflicts arising between the peoples shall be settled by arbitration treaties, for we believe that to settle them by violence is barbarism, and a disgrace to humanity," is in truth a recalling of men to the reality of a more Christ-like kingdom than the world's powers seem as yet willing to establish.

The many in all churches, or in none, who have found, as our forerunners found, in years of stress and strain that Christianity is a life, and not a system, will not abate one jot of faith in the power of that Life, even though 'the letter fails, and systems fall'; but will work more resolutely than ever for the settled inclusion of peace and justice instead of brute force in the civilization of our day. The final issue will not be doubtful, if it may be said of each one who thinks with us now, as it was said of Fox, "He dwelt in an atmosphere of mercy and of worship, with a still strength."

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